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The Idol of the MOON.

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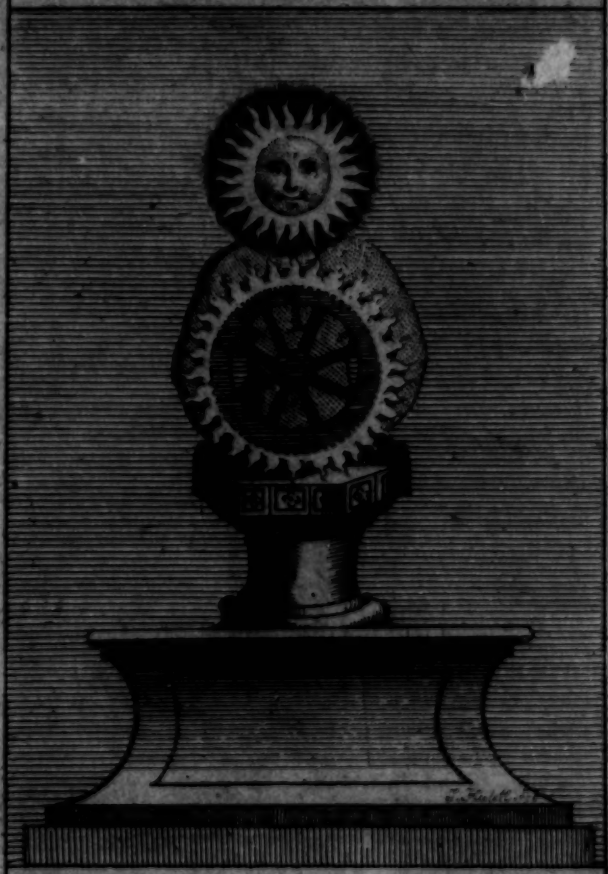
The Idol of the SUN.



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WODEN.

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A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED

To his present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion Hali.

VOL. I.

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and J. WILKIE, in St. *Paul's Church-yard.*

1761.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

To his ſacred Majeſty,

GEORGE III.

By the grace of God,

King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE author of the following work has preſumed to inſcribe it to your majeſty, as the greateſt mark he can give of his affection and loyalty. The hiſtory of kings is pe-

culiarly intended for the perusal of monarchs, and he that would be looked on as a friend to his country should endeavour to give the best hints to its sovereign: and what greater incentive can be given to a king, than by setting before him both the faults and virtues of his ancestors? The former may incline him to pursue contrary courses, and the latter stimulate him to a generous rivalry.

As these volumes will display to your majesty those steps by which this kingdom has ascended to its present state of greatness and opulence: so they will shew you the ill consequences which have ensued from the corrupt measures of designing ministers, the fury of deluded multitudes, and the weakness or tyranny of inconsiderate kings.

kings. They will likewiſe ſerve to remind you of this truth, that the only path to fame is that which tends to the good of a ſtate, and that no monarch, after his death, has met with praiſe from poſterity, who did not conſult the intereſt of poſterity during his life: they will ſerve to remind you, that it is not in the power of adulation to gild the faults of monarchs, with an eternal varniſh; but that time, like the ſpear of Ithuriel, has the power of detecting falſehood however obſcured, and of making facts appear in their proper forms.

If this be true, O King, conſider the time will come when all your actions will be weighed in the balance, and repreſented in hiſtory with all their defects. This is not, indeed, the language of dedicators,

but it is the voice of affection; it is the voice of truth: it is the voice of one, who wiſhes that you may avoid all the vices, and practice all the virtues of all the kings who have ſwayed the ſceptre of theſe realms; it is the voice of one, who dreads flattery more than death, and is ready, even at the hazard of life, to approve himſelf

Your Majeſty's

Moſt loyal, and

Affectionate ſubject,

W. RIDER.

St. Paul's School, London,
April 23, 1761.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

THE utility of history to men of all ranks and professions is a truth universally acknowledged and universally confirmed. The many histories written, during the existence of the Roman republic, of the affairs of that illustrious nation, were a great means of rendering them more illustrious, and are likewise an apology for our present undertaking. However considerable that republic may have appeared in former days, our own nation, as a maritime power, is not less considerable, nor are our exploits less worthy of being immortalised. To this we may add, that

that facts may be viewed in different lights by different persons, may be distorted by prejudice, or misrepresented by mistake: in all these cases a review may be both useful and necessary; it may be useful in order to add some circumstances which may have been either purposely or accidentally omitted; it may be necessary in order to enable posterity to judge of the consequences of similar circumstances, and to retrieve an injured character from the hands of oblivion, or the tyranny of malice. So that the variety of historians which have preceded us, instead of being an argument against our attempt, is rather an argument in its favour, since it will enable us to correct their errors, and to represent facts, with all their concurrent circumstances, which some may have omitted and others may have suppressed. Those therefore who have preceded us will be used as lights to guide us in our way, and the more light we have, the less is our danger of stumbling or falling. Without derogating

ing from the abilities of our predeceſſors, we may make uſe of them for improvement, and put them in mind of the common apophthegm, that a dwarf on a giant's ſhoulders may be able to ſee further than the giant himſelf.

The authorities produced by former hiſtorians will be examined before they are aſſented to, and the manuſcripts of the Britiſh Muſeum, Bodleian Library, &c. will be collated, in order to authenticate facts which have been buried in oblivion by negligence, or unjuſtly ſuppreſſed by the endeavours of prejudice: by this means the defects of former hiſtories may be ſupplied, their miſtakes rectified, and ſeveral curious anecdotes, that have not fallen under their notice, produced to the view of the public.

The deſcription of the ancient inhabitants of England, are not drawn merely from the unfiniſhed portraits, which the Greek and Latin authors have left us,

but

but from materials that carry with them such marks of authenticity, as must even extort assent.

The gradual improvements which were made from barbarity to politeness, from paganism to christianity, from ignorance to the noblest flights of philosophy, from poverty to riches, and from tyranny to liberty, will be displayed with all the precision that can convey knowledge to the mind, or pleasure to the imagination.

The characters of great personages, whether ministers or kings, will be drawn from the tenour of their conduct, without regarding the praises which adulation has lavished, or the calumnies which faction has forged. This principle of impartiality will be preserved throughout the history, from the most distant down to the last monarch that graced the English throne.

The

The history of the church will be traced from the first preaching of christianity in this island, to the latest regulation in ecclesiastic government, with that accuracy which so interesting a subject demands, and with all the candour, which a mind that values truth above all things, can possibly exert.

The chronology will be settled from the most approved authors, and set down in such a manner as to render it conspicuous to the reader.

In order to preserve the thread of the history free from interruptions, notes are added at the bottom of the page, serving to illucidate such incidents, as are obscure; and to confirm such as are dubious; or to refute such as are false in the context.

All useless disquisitions are avoided, which would only swell the volume, and perplex the reader. And on this account

this

this work, for its ſize, is better adapted than any other for the continual ſtudies of our natives, ſince it may travel with them wherever they go, and be an attendant on them, not only in the cloſet but likewiſe in the garden. They whoſe leiſure would not permit them to conſult every one of the numerous tribe of hiſtorians, which our affairs have produced, will find every one of their obſervations regiſtered in this work, which, though leſs in bulk, will be found, with reſpect to matter, as copious as any that has been ſubmitted to the public.

To mention the cheapneſs of a work as a proof of its advantage, would be an abſurdity unbecoming the author: but as the eaſineſs of purchaſing may be an inducement to increaſe the number of readers, and as an increaſe in the number of readers muſt tend to a more extenſive knowledge of the intereſts and conſtitution of the kingdom, it is hoped, that

that even in this reſpect the author may be looked on as a friend to his country.

The embelliſhments with which this work is illuſtrated are ſuch, as not only convey to us an idea of the perſons of our monarchs and heroes; but are likewiſe ornamented with the coins of the former, a ſpecies of reliques, that tends not only to ſupply us with an idea of the opulence of each reign, but likewiſe enables us to trace the ſeveral gradations by which our kingdom has arrived to that credit which it enjoys among foreign nations for the juſtneſs of its ſtandard.

One advantage this work has over all other hiſtories of England is, its including in it the reign of his late majeſty, George II. *a reign as pregnant with great events, as any that have preceded it; a reign which reflects no ſmall glory on the maritime ſtrength of this kingdom: a reign which will afford ſuch an ample field for the excurſions of*

hiſtorical praiſe or cenſure, as will render it conſpicuous in the Engliſh hiſtory to the lateſt poſterity!

The author being almoſt the only Engliſhman, that has lately attempted the hiſtory of England; it is not doubted but thoſe whoſe hearts are truly patriotic will countenance an undertaking, which has no other view but the glory of England, no other motive but the information of Engliſhmen, and no other end, but that of reſcuing the character of this kingdom from the miſrepreſentations of foreigners, or the miſconſtructions of partiality.

THE

THE
History of ENGLAND.

Introductory discourse, containing an account of the situation and name of Britain; and its original inhabitants; Druids, Bards, Eubates; government and state at the time of Cæsar's invasion.

THE first accounts of every nation in the world, that of the Jews only excepted, is involved in fable and obscurity; nor can that of any people be more obscure or more fabulous than that of Great Britain. Yet it must at the same time be owned, that even fable itself is sometimes only truth disguised; and why the fabulous account of the first peopling of this island may not be originally founded in truth, or be truth disguised, I leave

to the determination of those, who have allowed the origin and history of the Romans and Greeks to have been true in the main, though involved in obscurity and teeming with fiction.

If we should be suspected, as intending to tread in the steps of Geoffry of Monmouth, and to deduce the derivation of the name, and peopling this isle, from Brito or Brutus, it is time to declare, that this is not our intention; which is rather to produce an apology for our rejecting his account, than to assign reasons for following it.*

Britain, reputed by the Greeks and Romans to be one of the largest islands of the known world, is one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six miles in circumference, situated at the distance of twenty-four Miles from the coasts of France, to the north-west of Europe, is of a triangular form, bounded on the east and west by the Atlantic and German oceans, on the south by the British channel, and by the Deucaledonian sea on the north.†

The

* The various names by which the ancients have mentioned this island, and their etymologies, we pass by as trifles that afford no improvement, and worthier of the useless inhabitant of a convent, than a citizen of a commercial and warlike nation.

† That part of this island, which lies to the south of the Tweed is called by the name of ENGLAND: and the noble exploits, which have been performed by the inhabitants of this spot, will be the peculiar subject of this history.

The ſtreights of Dover, by which England is ſeparated from the continent, are ſo narrow, as, probably, to have given ground to an opinion, eſpouſed by many authors, both ancient and modern, that this iſland was originally joined to the continent, and ſevered afterwards from it by the univerſal deluge, or ſome other violent ſhock of nature. This Verſtegan ſupports from the appellation of *Cliffs*, given to the rocks on each ſide the channel; from their appearing both of the ſame chalky, flinty ſubſtance, and, by their ruggedneſs to have been broken off from maſſes of the ſame matter; from the extent of theſe rocks on each ſide, anſwering each other exactly; and from their ſides towards the ſea being broken off with a ſurprizing evenneſs, and correſponding with each other; to which we may add, that Holland and Zealand ſeem evidently to have been once covered by the ſea, which would naturally leave them dry, on finding ſuch a paſſage; and the ſetting of two ſuch furious tides as flowed from the eaſtern and weſtern oceans, may very reaſonably be ſuppoſed, in a courſe of years, to have gradually decreaſed the iſthmus, and, at laſt, have forced their way through it. This diſruption happening before England was known to the learned world, it wants ſuch authority as is requiſite to eſtabliſh it as a fact, and is propoſed only as a conjecture.

England was peopled from the continent, and almoſt all authors agree that the firſt inhabitants owed their origin to the Celtæ, or Gauls, who were ſettled on the oppoſite coaſts of France.

Theſe Celtæ, Galatæ, Gauls, or Cimbri, are ſaid to be the deſcendants of Gomer, the Son of Japhet, who, ſettled originally in the Eaſt, but multiplying ſo prodigiouſly, as to be obliged to ſend out colonies, one of them under the conduct of Acmon, penetrated into Europe, and founded the empire of the Titans.* Saturn, Jupiter, Dis, and Mercury, or † Teutat, extended this empire to the very extremities of Germany and Gaul. As he endeared himſelf to his ſubjects by his clemency and juſtice, he was ſtiled Teutat, *i. e.* the father of his people, from *Teut*, in Celtic, people, and *Tat* father. But as his adminiſtration chiefly tended to promote peace, and encourage

* This name was at firſt appropriated only to the royal family, and particularly to the children of Uranus, by his wife Titæa: for indeed the Gomarians were known by other names, either aſſumed by themſelves, or given them by others. Their martial exploits occaſioned their being known to the Greeks by the name of Coltæ, and to the Romans by that of Galli, both Celtic words, ſignifying *powerful* and valiant: Their enormous ſize of body or inſolent behaviour, procured them the appellation of *gigantes*, *Gug* in Celtic, ſignifying proud or inſolent, and *guas* a man.

† The Teutones pretend to derive their origin from him.

encourage commerce, he was likewise ſtiled Mercury, or Mer-cur, which ſignifies in Celtic, a trading man, or merchant. ‡

It was probably in his reign that his adventurous ſubjects peopled this iſland, retiring to the inland parts, where they led a life of paſtoral ſimplicity, like that of their brethren in Gaul, undiſturbed by invaſions from abroad, and troubled by no diſquiets at home; abſtracted from commerce, their whole attention was devoted to the ſuperſtitious rites of their religion, which they derived down, without change or innovation, to their deſcendants.

In this happy ſpot they lived without any invaſion, till the Belgæ, ſtraitened for want of room, came over; and being of the ſame language with themſelves, and originally derived from the ſame ſtock, met with that reception, which humanity could not refuſe them; and were ſuffered to ſettle in Devonſhire, Cornwal, Somerſetſhire, Kent and Suſſex.

As commerce and agriculture were entirely declined by the old Britons, the Belgæ found their ſettlements very advantageous in both theſe reſpects; for they cultivated the ground, which became famous for its products in wheat, and they found a ready vent for the native commodities of this iſland, which before was precarious,

‡ From *Merc*, merchandize, and *ur* a man. His monument, called by the natives *Mercur Teutat*, was, as Livy writes, to be ſeen in the times of Scipio and Annibal, near Carthagena in Spain.

carious, and carried on by the Phenicians only.

Towns and cities now began to be founded on the maritime coasts; and § Kent, which lay nearest to the Belgæ, was peopled by such multitudes, that they thought themselves too considerable to blend with the ancient Britons, and formed a distinct people, named *Nouantæ*, *i. e.* new inhabitants, or *Nou-Cantæ*, *i. e.* New Kentishmen, from whom Ptolemy stiles the foreland of Kent, *promontorium Naucantium*. As there were in those times no havens, unless such as were formed by nature, they sailed down the Thames, and founded the city of London; which being called ‖*Tri* or *Tre-Nouant*, *i. e.* the town of the Nouantæ, explains the reason why the inhabitants who possessed the parts of Essex, Middlesex, Surry and Kent, which surround

§ *Kyn* or *Cyn*, in Welch, as well as the Irish, signify primarily the head, and figuratively first or foremost, and those places which lie nearest to the continent, anciently retained *Kyn* in their appellations: thus we have *Kvn* or *Cynta*, called by the Romans and modern English *Kent*; we have likewise, on one side of this, *Uch Kyn*, called by the Romans the *Iceni*, and towards the North, is *Obri-Cyn*, in Latin *obrigantum*, or rather *brigantium regio*; or that country first inhabited from, and lying nearest to the Belgic shore. *Mona antiqua.*

‖ This etymology is sufficient to show how fabulous the account of Geoffry of Monmouth is, who calls it *Troinovant*, and thence imagines it to be an incredible proof of its being founded by persons who came originally from Troy.

ſurround this metropolis, were called *Trinovantes* or *Trinobantes*.

The conſtant migrations of the Belgæ, increaſing their numbers, ſo as to give offence to the firſt ſettlers, it is not improbable, but they invited over Divitiacus, the king of the Sueſſones, in order to ſecure them in their ſettlements. However this was, it is certain that he came over with a large body of forces, collected from the Bibroci, the Atrebates, and other Belgic nations, with which he reduced a great part of Britain, and ſettled the counties of Hants, Wilts, and thoſe parts bordering on Somerſet and Suſſex.

After this ſettlement, we find the inward tranquillity of this iſland deſtroyed by the ambition of Divitiacus, who was frequently involved in wars with the natives, in which the Trinobantes and Atrebates were great ſufferers; the power of the Belgæ being divided by his death, the Iceni and Cattivellauni recovered their liberties. But the animoſities which were now ſown, took root, and were not to be weeded out by time, but increaſed ſo faſt, that, in the time of Cæſar's invaſion, they contributed, more than his courage or conduct, to render him victorious.

From this account, it will be eaſy to underſtand why ſome counties in this iſland bore the ſame name as others in France; and why the ſame cuſtoms of ſome of the inhabitants differed ſo much from thoſe in others.

The

The original inhabitants are represented as consisting of two classes, priests and soldiers.

The priests were distinguished by the name of Druids, a title which was given them from the places of their habitations, planted with the oak, for which they had an idolatrous affection.* They wore their hair short, and their beards very long. They generally bore in their hands a wand; and had a kind of ornament hung about their necks, enchased in gold and called the Druids egg. Their garments were long, they wore always a white surplice when they were employed in religious ceremonies. They had golden chains about their necks and bracelets round their arms and wrists. Such as were in any honourable post, had coloured garments, brocaded with gold: They had the privilege of six colours in their robes, breacans,

* The name Druid comes from *Deru* Celtic, or Drew or *Dryw* British, an oak. The Irish word is Drui, corruptly Droi, or Druoi; and in the nominative plural Druidhe, whence the English Druid, and the Latin Druides, for the singular *Druis* is plainly formed from *Drui*, by adding an *s*. But as these words in Irish, as well as the British *Drudion* are used of both sexes, so the Romans made use of Druida for a she Druid, and its nominative plural Druidæ should therefore be used in that sense only, though Druidæ and Druides are confounded, and used promiscuously to denote either Sex. *Drew* or *Dryw*, British, the word for a single *Druid*, is derived by some from *Derw*, or *Driw*, a contraction of *Drew riw*, that is, a society of men celebrating the oak, and by Rowlands, in his Mona antiqua, from *Dir-riw*, necessary men.

breacans, or trowsers, though their kings were allowed only five in theirs, nobles and their ladies only five, governours of fortresses only four, officers and the young nobility three, common soldiers two, and the vulgar only one. To the Druids were committed not only the ceremonies of sacrifice, but likewise the administration of civil judicature. To the common Druids were entrusted the education of princes, the administration of justice in the several provinces, their determination of all causes, but in subordination to a chief Druid, who in dignity excelled all the rest; and with respect to his power in civil affairs might be termed a king, while, in religious matters, he might be called the reigning pope of those days.

They were, as it was hinted, subordinate to a chief, stiled the arch Druid, who enjoyed his supremacy for life, was elected out of their own body by a majority, or in case of a competition, which could not be decided by a majority, intruded by force of arms. If we consider the extent of their authority, we need not admire the struggles they made in order to attain this supremacy. For their persons were not only deemed inviolable, but they were the ‖ inspectors

‖ Dio Chrysostom, says, that kings were not allowed to do any thing without them; nor to hold any consultation without their participation: and Toland asserts, that the king was ever to have a Druid about his person, to pray

inspectors over the conduct of kings themselves, and had authority sufficient either to elect or depose whom they pleased. If any heinous offence was perpetrated, any murder committed, any dispute happened about the right to an inheritance, the Druids took cognisance of the matter, and gave a verdict which no one durst oppose, no one durst censure. Whatever their sentence was, it was sure to be executed, since whoever refused, was excommunicated by them and deprived of all the rights of society, deemed the most wicked and profligate of mankind, and avoided as if his very presence was infectious. This power was certainly very great, but always used with such a regard for justice and equity, that their administration has been always celebrated for its impartiality.

Yet it must not be thought, that it was their candour, or equity, or the exemplariness of their lives, or the goodness of their moral doctrines, that gained them this influence over the people; they had still another claim, which was, that they were men of the first quality; and that their legislative quality was a claim of their birthright. With these advantages they became a public blessing to the kingdom in which they were settled, composed the civil discords

pray and sacrifice, to advise him in difficulties, and to determine in emergent controversies: He adds, that this custom was adopted by the nobles likewise; whereof every one was attended by his *Druid*, &c.

diſcords which diſturbed its repoſe by their mediation, and ſometimes at the riſk of their own lives; for they often threw themſelves between embattelled armies ready to engage; and, by their wiſe remonſtrances, put a ſtop to the rage of incenſed enemies, and brought them to an happy accommodation.

Being the living depoſitories of learning, they took all thoſe meaſures, which conduced to reſtrain it within their fraternity; and though at firſt obliged by neceſſity, they afterwards determined by choice, that none of their inſtitutes ſhould be committed to writing. Hence they drew to themſelves an incredible number of diſciples, whom they kept for no leſs than 20 years under their tuition; and as moſt of theſe were the chiefs of clans and other nobles, it was a means of rendering themſelves more awful to the people, and more neceſſary to the ſtate. The lectures they gave their pupils, were ſuch as ſuited their quality, ſuch as were neceſſary for legiſlators, and in this caſe reſembled the ſo much boaſted myſteries of the Egyptians, which the preſent biſhop of Glouceſter has developed with ſo much ingenuity and ſucceſs. They taught them the nature of the gods, the immortality of the ſoul; and other ſubjects that contributed to render them heroes, and make them deſpiſe death. The manner in which they conveyed theſe noble truths, was the beſt calculated to rivet them in the memory, and to remedy the inconvenience which might ariſe

from their not being committed to writing, I mean the delivering them * in verſe 'Twas thus that all laws were delivered † before the knowledge

* A ſpecimen of the Druidical verſes, wherein they inculcate the doctrines of morality, is to be found in Lhwyd's Corniſh grammar, and in Rowland's Mona, but as both theſe books are very ſcarce, I have tranſcribed them to make them more public.

[1] Marchweil Bedw briclas
A dyn vynrhoet, o wanas,
Nac addev dy rin i was.

Marchweil Derw Mwynllwyn,
A dyn vynhroet o Gatwyn,
Nac addev dy rin i vorwyn.

Marchweil Derw deiliar,
A dyn vynhroet o garchar,
Nac addev dy rin i lavar.

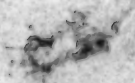
[2] Eyri mynydd, Hûdd eſcyt,
Odyd amdidawr ôr byt,
Rhybydd i drwch ni weryt.

Eyri mynydd, piſc yn rhyt
Cyrchyt Karw Kilgrwm Cwmelyt,
Hiraeth am Varw ni weryt.

Eyri mynydd, gwint ae tawl,
Llydan lloergan, glaſs tawawl,
Odyd dyn diried dihawl.

[1] The firſt three verſes contain an invocation of the groves, and an oſtentatious diſplay of the immunities and privileges of the Druids. [2] Theſe three verſes begin with an invocation of the Mount Eyryri, the Parnaſſus of the Druids; and at the cloſe of every ſtanza included ſome moral ſentence: they were collected by Lhowarch Hen, a prince of Cumberland, who lived in 590.

† That Druidiſm was prior to the invention of letters is a fact



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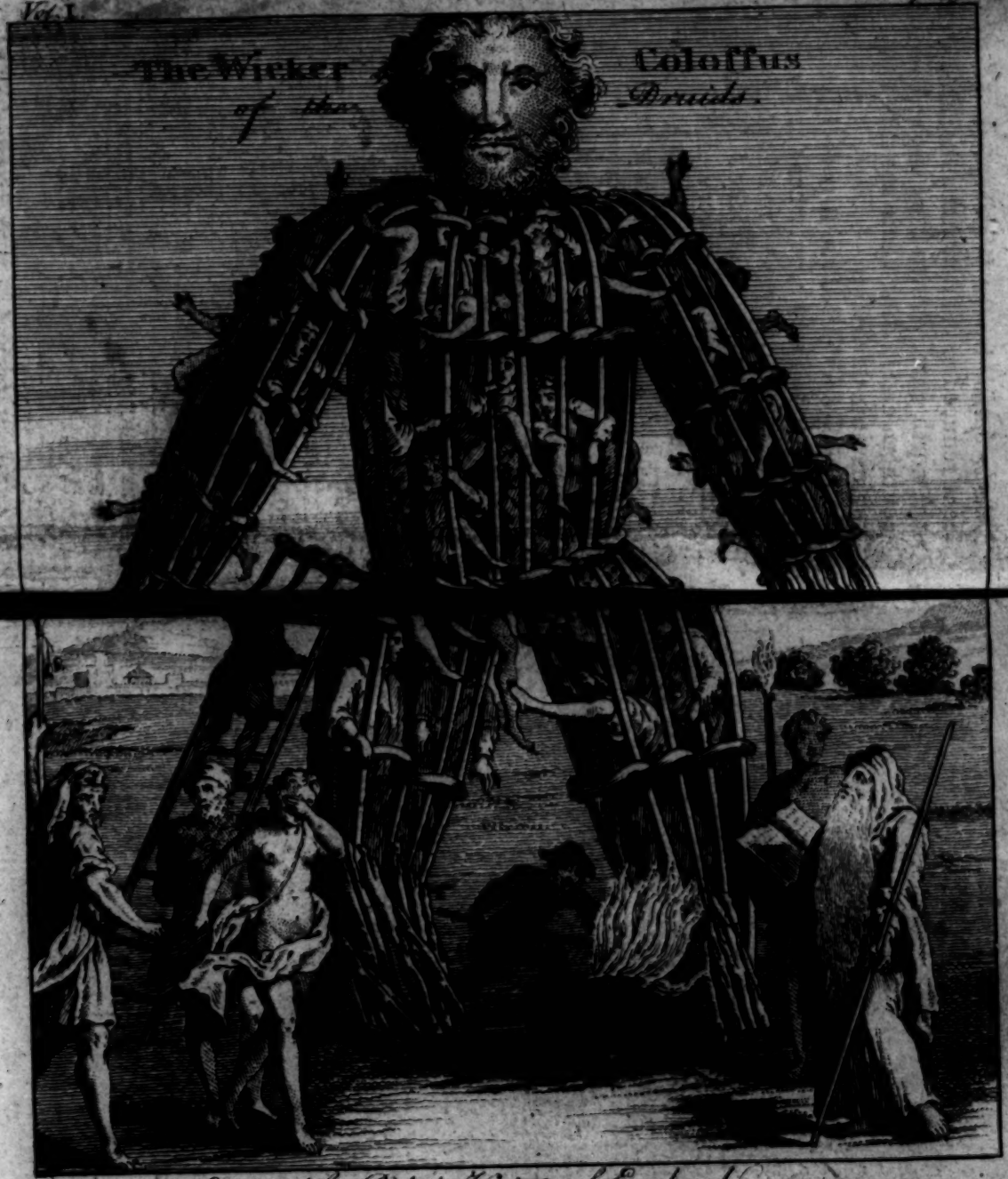

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BRITISH MUSEUM

ledge of letters; and it was thus that all ‖ history was formerly composed.

They pretended to a familiar intercourse with the gods, which they supported by such studies, as were best adapted to conceal their ignorance and to impose on the public. For this reason they pretended to magic, and cultivated both physics and mathematics. Astronomy engaged their attention; and, by explaining to them the mystery of the heavenly bodies, enabled them to foretel the times and measures of eclipses to such a degree of certainty, as must have attracted reverence from ignorance. Their knowledge of the medicinal qualities of herbs was subservient to the same purpose; and their skill in mechanics, which shews itself in several stupendous structures, still served to prosper the cheat. For their § magic, it was so famous, that they were supposed to have taught it to the

C 2 very

a fact that may be proved by probable arguments: however this is certain, that before the coming of the Romans, we hear of no books composed by them; we see no inscriptions on their altars, or their monuments, though it might be imagined that they were as fond of speaking well of their Deities, or of immortalizing their heroes, as any other set of men whatever.

‖ None of the old Grecian historians wrote in prose, till the time of Cadmus the Phœnician.

§ In Ireland the common word for a magician is Driu, and the art magic Driudheacht: and in the Irish translation of the bible, it is used to express magicians or inchanters, as in Exod. vii. 2, "anois *Draoith* na hegipte." Among the Saxons and Germans, *Dry* is used for a magician; and *Drycræft* for magic or incantation.

very Perſians; and the name of their order was, on that account, made uſe of to ſignify magic itſelf.

Their privileges were great on this account, and as the exerciſe of this function ſeemed to require ſecrecy, and the preſervation of their tenets ſecurity, they were exempted from all taxes and military diſcipline; hence it is, that in the various engagements of the Romans, we find the mention of no druid amongſt the Britiſh armies; but, from the relation of the vaſt numbers found in Angleſey, may conclude, that when war broke out in any province, they retired from it into that place, ſo remarkable for their reſidence and antiquities.

In point of religion they were diſtinguiſhed above all other nations, the Jews excepted; they believed one ſupreme deity immenſe and infinite, and thought that confining his worſhip to a particular place, was inconſiſtent with the belief of thoſe attributes: but their belief of this doctrine was corrupted by their admitting an inferior kind of deities, and paying divine honours to Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Mercury, under the names of Taramis or Taranus, Heſus, Belenus or the Sun, and Teutates. After the time of the Romans we find they increaſed the number of theſe deities, by adopting likewiſe the worſhip of Diana, Minerva, and Hercules; though it is a queſtion whether the druidical Ogmius, was not a deity peculiar

to

to themselves, and borrowed by the Greeks from them.

They adored their gods in prayers, in thanksgivings, in oblations, and in sacrifices; their oblations were, at first, fine meal or flower sprinkled with salt, or a baked cake seasoned in the same manner. This primitive simplicity they retained, as appears from the oblations sent by their sacred ambassadours to the temples of Apollo, at least to the time of Hecatæus. When by their frequent intercourse with the Phenicians they lost this simplicity, they adopted the barbarous custom of human victims, and improving on the cruelty of other nations, they used them for divination with such circumstances as must shock human nature to relate. Steeled as it were by these practices, they grew deaf to the whispers of humanity, and carried their savageness to so high a pitch, that they formed wicker idols of such a monstrous size, as to contain great crowds of persons, whom they burnt, in this monstrous inclosure, at once. At first, only malefactors were the objects of their barbarity; but in process of time, innocent persons became the victims of their superstition.

The places set apart for these sacrifices, and all other parts of their divine worship, were consecrated groves,* and as we have

 said,

* These were in British named *Llwynau*, whence the British word *Llan* is at present applied to signify a church, and

ſaid, the name of their order is derived from this circumſtance. The *oak* was the object of their eſteem and veneration; the fences that incloſed theſe places of worſhip were made of its wood, their altars were ſtrewed with its leaves, and encircled with its branches; the brows of the victims, and the heads of their votaries were crowned with its chaplets. They believed a very profound myſtery to be contained in the miſſelto, eſteemed it as the choiceſt gift of heaven, and imagined the tree on which it grew, was eminently favoured by the deity, and had, on that account, a particular claim to their veneration. It was ſought for annually on New-years day, the * 6th of March, with the greateſt eagerneſs, and when diſcovered, was hailed with ſuch raptures of joy as are ſcarce to be conceived; amidſt an infinite concourſe of people, the chief Druid, clad in white, aſcended the tree, and with a conſecrated golden knife, or prunning hook, cropped

and to this day there are ſeveral places in Wales, which ſtill retain the name of *Llwynau* or groves, as *Llwyn Llwyd, Llwyn Moel, Llwyn Ogan*, in or near which are to beſeen ſeveral remains of the druidical worſhip. In theſe groves they had their ſacred mounts or hillocks called *Gorſeddau*, from their ſitting upon them above their audience when they delivered their decrees, and pronounced their lectures: in theſe groves they erected their pillars, and idols, their *Carns*, *Carnedde*, or heaps of ſtones, and their *Cromleachs* or altars on which their Druids offered their ſacrifices.

* Toland ſays, that it was on the 10th.

The chief **DRUIDS** gathering the Miſsletoe.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ped the miſſelto, which he received in his ſagum or white robe; after which they offered two white bulls, with fillets on their horns, and with frequent invocations invoked the *all healing* deity to render it efficacious in thoſe diſtempers wherein it ſhould be adminiſtered: whence the miſſelto itſelf is called * *all heal*, or a ſure remedy againſt all diſeaſes. So great indeed was the veneration they had for this tree, that at laſt it degenerated into idolatry, and was the immediate object of adoration; hence it was, that Gregory the great, in his epiſtle to queen Brunehaut, recommends to her no longer to tolerate the worſhippers of trees in her dominions.

In their religious exerciſes, they made uſe of hymns, which were ſung in concert, accompanied with the muſic of harps, and, on their periodical feſtivals, were attended with dancing, feaſting, interludes and public games. Theſe hymns were, at firſt, the work of the Druids in general, but in proceſs of time, were the employment of the † Bards, an inferiour order, who likewiſe were the preſervers of the memory and noble exploits of their heroes.

* In the Armorican dialect, it is called *Oll-yach*, in the Iriſh *Uil-iceach*, in Welch *Ol-hiach*, and the oak itſelf *Pren awyr*.

† *Bard* is the Iriſh and Scottiſh word, and *Bardd* the Armoric and Britiſh, which ſignifies, both a poet and a prophet.

roes.* The Bard was not only a prieſt, but a herald; not only a poet, but a muſician likewiſe. The order was ſubdivided into three ranks, named Privardd, Poſwardd, and Arwyddwardd; the Privardd, was one who invented and taught ſuch ſyſtems of philoſophy as were unknown before; the *Poſwardd* was no inventor, but a propagator of the principles and ſyſtems of others: the *Arwyddwardd*, or enſign *Bard*, was properly an herald at arms; his office was to declare the genealogy, to blazon the arms of the nobles and princes, to keep a record of them, and to alter them according to their dignity and merits. In latter times theſe attended the kings and princes in all their battles. With regard to the ſubjects the Bards treated of, they were called likewiſe † *Prudud* or chronologers, *Tewlwr* or heralds, and *Clerwr* or comic and ſatyric poets. But it ſhould be remarked, that *Bardd* was an ap-

* This account is tranſcribed with ſome neceſſary additions from a Cottonian MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.

† The *Prudud*, as the Cottonian MS. ſays, in another place, was to treat of lands, the praiſe of princes, nobles, and gentlemen, among whom he reſided. The *Tewlwr* treated of comic ſubjects, domeſtic affairs and ſports, having his circuit among the ruſtics. The *Clerwr* cultivated invective and ruſtic poetry, and had his circuit among the yeomen of the country. There do not want many inſtances of the true ſublime among their fragments: their epigrams were admirable, and their turns equal to any of the Italian poets. But in moving the paſſions, they ſeem ſuperior to the Greeks, becauſe they are more natural.

appellation given to all the professors of learning, as well as to the three orders above-mentioned.

Besides these, was a third order, who in Celtic are called * *Faidh*, or *Vaids*, which, in that language, and in the Irish, signifies a prophet. The Vaids were skilled in physic and in divination, their knowledge in augury attracted the notice of the Romans, and their proficiency in philosophy was great, as well as that of the Druids.

This account of the different orders of Druids would be very imperfect, if we did not add that the fair sex were admitted as members of this society; that several ladies of the first rank, even princesses, were educated by the Druids, and that some of their fair disciples became as celebrated for their proficiency in learning, as they were famous for their personal charms, or dignified by their high birth. In Inïsoen, a place in the county of Dunegal, is the grave of Gealcossa, a druidess; near which is her temple, a sort of diminutive stonehenge, still had in the greatest reverence by the Irish; and in the Irish annals, we read, that two daughters of king Laoghaire, were educated

* The word is *Faidh*, or *Vait* by the usual conversion of *F* into *V*, and *T* into *D*, whence the Greeks formed Ουατεις, *i. e. Ouateis*, and the Latins *Vates*. The *Eubages* and *Eubages*, mentioned in Ammianus Marcellinus, seem to be corruptions in the author, or mistakes in his transcribers.

educated by the Druids, and are presented with a long dispute they held against the christian religion, at that time, preached by St. Patric.

Though at first the Druid might have no other shelter but his oak, yet in time, necessity might have made him more ingenious; and set him on contriving some more commodious retreat. 'Twas then that his house was erected; a little round, arched building, at first indeed of wood, with a stone foundation, but in length of time formed entirely of stone; the ruins of several such, capable of holding only a single person, are to be met with in Wales, near their chief residence, the island of Anglesey. One of them is still shewn in the island of St. Kilda, which according to tradition was the abode of a Druidess. It is built entirely of stone, without lime, mortar, or any other cement; it is arched and of a conical figure; but open at the top, in order to discharge the smoke, and let in light, the fire place being made in the middle of the floor; it is more capacious than those already described, and is large enough to contain nine persons without crowding: there are projecting from the sides, three low vaults, separated from each other by pillars and capable of containing five persons a piece. Just such another edifice, excepting its being larger, and grown over with sod, is in Berera an island adjacent

adjacent to St. Kilda, which was the habitation of a Druid.

That the Druids formed themſelves into ſeparate ſocieties, and lived together in different places, is manifeſt from their reliques, which are interſperſed in ſeveral parts of this kingdom, Ireland and France; and from ſeveral towns which bear their * names, both in this and the adjacent iſlands.

Yet wherever the arch Druid ſettled his reſidence he was, undoubtedly, attended by the inferior orders, who lived in towns near him; as for thoſe who lived at a greater diſtance, they were obliged to attend him annually at his gegeral council, wherein he exerted his power both in religious and civil matters, and enacted ſuch laws as were neceſſary for the ſupport of the order and the good of the ſtate. This general aſſembly, was held at Dreux in France, by the Gauliſh Druids, and by the Britiſh Druids in Angleſey. From this latter place, as from a growing nurſery, were diſſeminated the plants of Druidiſm into all parts of this iſland, and even into the continent; it being aſſerted by Cæſar, that the doctrine of the Druids was invented, at leaſt taught with the greateſt accuracy

* Such are *Dreux* in France; *Kerig-y Druidion*, or the Druids ſtones, a pariſh ſo called, in Denbigſhire, from two of their altars; *Trier Drieu*, the Druids town, and *Maen y Drew*, the Druids ſtone in Angleſea: *Caer Drewyn*, or the city of Druids in Merionythſhire; and *Stenton Drew* in Somerſetſhire.

racy and preciſion in Britain; and that thoſe who were willing to make themſelves maſters of its myſteries, came hither for that purpoſe.

The † Trer Drew in Llanidan pariſh, muſt have been the reſidence of the chief Druid, becauſe applied in the ſingular number to this order; the many reliques of Druidical ſuperſtition, and the names of the neighbouring places, ſtill corroborate this opinion, and at the ſame time enable us to diſcover ſuch traces of the dignity of the preſident, and the internal policy of the order, ‡ as muſt make us perceive the defects of the Roman and Greek authors, when treating of this ſect.

Round this metropolis of the chief Druid we find the other claſſes ſettled, in order to give a more ready attendance: the bards inhabiting

† *i. e.* The city of the Druid.

‡ Gildas, ſays that rivers and mountains were the objects of divine worſhip: agreeable to which the river that runs through one part of the iſland is called *Breint*, i. e. the royal river. Cæſar mentions their ſupreme court or conſiſtery; and there is a great circular bank of earth formed on a plain, called *Brein Gwyn*, or the ſupreme conſiſtory, to this day. Aſtronomy, one of their particular ſtudies, was by the antients named *Idris*, from Enoch, its ſuppoſed inventor; here likewiſe is a hill called, *Caer Edris*, or *Idris*, and not far from it a place called *Cerieg Brudyn*, or the aſtronomers circle. They were characterized from their peculiarly affecting ſolitary walks and groves, and here we have a ſmall villa, named *Myſiryon*, i. e. a place dedicated to ſtudies and contemplation, and a ſmall hamlet, called *Trev-ir wydd*, i. e. the townſhip of young trees.

habiting Treir Beirdd, or the bards town, and the Vaids bodevwyr.

As the pontif of the Druids muſt reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have a more ſplendid and magnificent palace than thoſe of the inferior orders, in the center of *Tre'r Dreew*, there are the ruins of one ſtill to be ſeen, conſiſting of of an area, that ſeems to have been the ground plot of a wooden palace, having the foundation of a round tower or ſtair-caſe in the centre, and formerly having a grove of oak near it, as appears from the mud of the ditches, which ſeems to be only a maſs of putrified oak leaves. On the other end of the town is a large theatre of ſtones raiſed to a great height, in the ſhape of a creſcent, opening towards the weſt: in the ſame direction from hence are the ruins of a ring or circle of ſtone pillars, three of which are ſtill ſtanding: this place is called *Bryn Gwyn* or *Brein Gwyn*, an expreſſion uſed by Taleiſſen to imply a ſupreme tribunal; by Daſyd Lhwyd, to ſignify the great council of the nation; and by Adda Frâs, for the parliament.

Having thus ſhewn that they were indebted to architecture for dwellings, it will not be unſeaſonable to mention, that they had likewiſe ‖

‖ This was an improvement introduced after their knowledge of architecture, for at firſt their temples were only groves; but even after the introduction of buildings, they retained their original principle, that it was contrary to the

temples: theſe conſiſted generally of a circular or ſemicircular row of pillars, open on all ſides and at the top, ſurrounded by a deep trench, like that of ſtonehenge, and like the pillars in that famous ediſice having no traces of a tool; it being a druidical, as well as antient Jewiſh maxim, not to lift up an inſtrument on ſuch ſtones as were intended for divine uſes. The temple of Apollo at Claſſerniſs, in the iſland of Lewis or Harries, is ſo remarkable, that it deſerves a minute deſcription. The body of this temple conſiſts of twelve obeliſcs or columns placed circularly, about ſeven feet high, two broad and ſix diſtant from one another, with one thirteen feet high in the center, ſhaped like the rudder of a ſhip, from whence the chief Druid uſed to deliver his lectures to the people. It has likewiſe four wings, ſtretching out from its ſides, conſiſting of four columns each, pointing directly eaſt, ſouth, weſt and north, to repreſent the four cardinal winds, as the twelve pillars poſſibly might be intended to denote the twelve ſigns of the Zodiac. The avenue, which is north, conſiſts of two rows of columns, of the ſame ſize, and erected at the ſame diſtances as

the immenſity of the divine eſſence to ſuppoſe it included within walls; and on that account their temples were open at the top, and had no other incloſure on the ſides, but a circular row of pillars erected at equal diſtances from each other.

as the former; the breadth of the avenue is eight feet, and the ſtones compoſing each ſide nineteen in number, ſerving to repreſent the famous cycle of nineteen years, firſt diſcovered by the Druids.* At a quarter of a mile diſtance from hence is another temple, probably dedicated to the moon; for it does not appear that the Britains uſed to have their

* Eaſt of Drumcruy in the iſle of Orran is a circular temple, the diameter of whoſe area is thirty paces; and in the ſouth of the ſame village another, in the center of which ſtill remains the altar, conſiſting of a thin broad ſtone, ſupported by three others. In the greateſt iſland of the Orkneys, commonly called Mainland, are likewiſe two temples, near Lockſtenis, one of which is by tradition believed to have been dedicated to the ſun and the other to the moon; they are each of them ſurrounded by a trench, like that about Stonehenge, many of the ſtones are above twenty or twenty-four feet high, five broad, and one or two thick: near the leſſer temple, ſtand two ſtones of the ſame bigneſs with the reſt, through the middle of of one of which is an hole, which ſerved to faſten victims or the wicker coloſſus mentioned above, in which crowds of perſons were burnt alive. In the iſland of Papa Weſtra, another of the Orkneys, are two more obeliſcs, in one of which is to be perceived a hole likewiſe; and behind them a third, hollowed like a trough. At Biſcaw-woon near St. Buriens in Cornwall, is a circular temple, conſiſting of nineteen ſtones, diſtant from each other twelve feet, having another in the center, much higher than the reſt. To mention no more, there is one at Aubury in Wiltſhire: and Gregory of Tours mentions another on the top of Belens mount, between Arton and Riom in Auvergne, whence St. Martin took a view of the country.

temples ſo near to each other, except in this caſe.

Their † altars generally conſiſt of four ſtones, three of which are hard flags or large though thin ſtones ſet up edgewiſe, two of which compoſe the ſides, the third, which is ſhorter than the others, the end; the fourth is likewiſe placed horizontally on the other three. Theſe altars are ſituated in the middle of the temple near the great Coloſſus, and are by the Welch called Kiſvaen, a ſtone cheſt in the ſingular number, and Kiſtie-vaen in the plural. They who imagine from the bones they find near theſe altars that they were ſepulchres, forget what ancient authors inform us of the human ſacrifices offered by the Druids.

Beſides theſe altars, are others of a larger kind, termed by the Britiſh *Cromlech* in the ſingular, and ‖ *Cromlechu* in the plural, near which was

† There are a great number of theſe altars yet remaining entire in Wales, particularly two in *Kerig y druidion*, and one in *Llanhammulch* pariſh in Brecknockſhire. To which we may add one at *Carn Lhechart* in the pariſh of *Llan-Gyvelach* in Glamorganſhire.

‖ Some derive the name from the curvedneſs of its figure; but others more rationally from *Crymmy*, bowing or bending the body in divine worſhip at theſe places. The Iriſh call them *Cromleach* in the ſingular, and *Cramleacca* in the plural. There is one at *Poictiers* in France, ſupported by five leſſer ſtones, which is ſixty feet in circumference. As many of theſe ſtones thus erected, weigh from ten to twenty tuns, it might embarraſs the curious to know how they

was commonly placed a prodigious ſtone, which ſerved as a pedeſtal to ſome idol, or at leaſt to the wicker Coloſſus. In Nevern pariſh in Pembrokeſhire, there is a Cromlech of which the middle ſtone is ſtill eighteen feet high, and nine broad towards the baſe, but growing gradually narrower upwards. Near it is a fragment about ten feet long, which twenty oxen cannot draw. At Bodowyr in Angleſey, is another, on the top of a hillock, which is ſeven feet long, ſix broad and ſix thick, its upper ſtone being in the ſhape of a detruncated pyramid, and flat at the top.

On the tops of mountains in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, the Scotch iſlands and the iſle of Man, are great heaps of ſtones, another relique of the Druids. They conſiſt of ſtones of all weights,

they could be raiſed in theſe rude ages to their ſeveral heights; but as the *Leaver* was a mechanical power, which was invented in the earlieſt ages, and as ancient as building itſelf, we may with the ingenious Mr. Rowland, ſuppoſe that they either found or made mounts with an inclined plain on the ſides, and flatted or level at the top, up the ſloping ſides of which they might gradually roll or raiſe theſe ſtones, they intended to erect, to the top of the hillock, where they dug holes in the earth at the end of every ſtone they intended for a ſupporter, equal to its length, and then ſlipping them in ſo, that their tops might be level with the ground, they then rolled the other ſtone, intended for a cover, over them, and then digging away the earth between the ſupporters, left the whole ſtanding, ſo as to form an appearance not unlike Stonehenge, Rollrick, and the Cromleaches in Wales, Ireland or Jerſey; in which laſt place they are named *Pouquelays*.

from one pound to an hundred, they are coped or round in form, and somewhat tapering or diminishing in circumference upwards, but on the summit have always a flat stone. These † heaps are of various sizes, some of them containing at least a hundred ‡ cartload of stones. They are called in the antient Celtic language, and in every one of its dialects, a Carn, either from the devotional rounds performed about them, or else from the Hebrew קרן נר Keren Nedh, which implies a coped heap, and is undoubtedly the origin of the welch word *Carnedde*, by which these collections of stones are denomited. They were always so disposed, as to be in the sight of one another, as appears from those which

† The smaller heaps, are undoubtedly, according to the common tradition, the graves of persons eminent for their virtues, or notorious for their vices; and were originally formed by a custom then in vogue, which was for every person who passed, to fling a stone on the grave, as a sign of his veneration of the good life of the former, or his detestation of the depravity of the latter. This custom is still preserved in Wales, where it is customary to throw stones on the graves of such as are denied Christian burial, till they amount to considerable heaps, which has given rise to the proverbial curse *Kern ar dy ben*, i. e. ill bet de you: as a corroborative proof that this was the original intention of raising these lesser heaps, Mr. Rowland adds, that he had caused one of them to be opened, and found under it a very curious urn.

‡ There are some of these cumuli or heaps so large, that they required a more numerous army than ever was in this island to bring every one his stone to raise it. *Mona antiqua.*

which are in Bryn Kelli, formerly called *Llwyn Llwyd* in Llandeniel parish, which are situated within a few paces of each other; one of these is intirely demolished, but that which remains is twenty paces high; and one pace in circumference, at the base. In the parish of Trelech, in Carmarthenshire, is a Carn called *Crig-y-dyrn*; the flat stone on the top of which, is three yards in length, five feet broad, and from ten to twelve inches thick; its circumference at the bottom is about sixty yards, and its height six; the declivity is easy, though it might originally have been ascended by a ladder. Though the *carns* were, on account of their proximity to each other, used for beacons, yet originally they were designed for fires of another kind. For, on May eve, the Druids made prodigious fires on these eminences, which being, as we have said in sight of each other, could not but afford a glorious show all over the nation. These fires, were in honour of *Beal*, or *Bealan*, the Irish and Celtic word for the Sun, which the Romans latinized into Belenus, and applied to the same deity, as appears from several inscriptions found on monuments. Hence it was that Bealteine is used for May day, by the Highlanders in Scotland; and in the isle of man, as well as in the Armoric, a priest is called *Belee*, or the priest of Beal, *i. e.* the sun.

Two of these fires were kindled on May, in every village of the nation, between which the

the men and beaſts to be ſacrificed were obliged to paſs: one of them being kindled on the Carn, and the other on the ground.*

On the eve of the firſt of November, theſe fires were kindled likewiſe, accompanied with feaſting and ſacrifices; and were called in Ireland *Tini tlach'd-gha* from † *tlach'd-gha*, a place of that name in Meath. At this time all the people of the country extinguiſhed all their fires, and every maſter was obliged to carry a portion of this conſecrated fire to his own houſe, for the ſervice of the enſuing year, for which he was to make an acknowledgment to the Druid, who from officiating at theſe places, was called *Cairneach*. But if any perſon had not cleared with the Druids for dues of the laſt year, he was neither ſuffered to carry away a ſpark from theſe holy fires, nor durſt his neighbours permit him to take the benefit of theirs, under pain of excommunication.‡

Beſides

* Hence aroſe the Iriſh proverb, "*Ittir dha teine "Bheil*" between Bel's two fires, applied to a perſon, who was in ſuch a ſtreight, that he knew not how to extricate himſelf.

† *i. e.* fire ground.

‡ The places denominated from theſe Carns are numberleſs, not to mention *Carn-Llubart*, and *Carn-Llaid* in Wales; *Carnwath*, *Carn-tullach* in Scotland; and *Carnmail*, or *Carnant* in Ireland. In Northumberland, and other parts of the north of England, they are termed *Laws* or *Lows*. The lowland Scots call them *Cairns*, whence *Drum-cairn*, *Glen-cairn*, beſides ſeveral lordſhips,

Beſides theſe fires, they kindled others on Midſummer-eve, which they made in all their grounds, carrying flaming brands from thence through all their corn fields, and accompanied them with ſacrifices, in order to obtain a bleſſing on the fruits of the earth, which were now approaching to maturity: thoſe on the firſt of May being made for their vegetation; as thoſe on the firſt of October were intended for a teſtimony of gratitude on their finiſhing their harveſt.

It was cuſtomary for the lord of the place, his ſon, or ſome other perſon of diſtinction, to take the entrails of the ſacrificed animal in his hands, and walking bare-footed over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceaſed, to carry them to the Druid, who waited for him at the altar. If the nobleman eſcaped harmleſs, it was reckoned a good omen, and celebrated with loud acclamations; but if he received any hurt, it was deemed unlucky, both to the community and himſelf likewiſe.

Such are the reliques of the Druids in theſe kingdoms, which ſerve to convey to us an idea of their dignity, their magnificence, and their ſuperſtition: as for their particular tenets, they ſeem buried in the wreck of time, excepting a few

ſhips, one of which is in Lennox, and another in Galloway, not to mention the family of the Cairns. The family of *Carne* in Wales, is from the ſame original. —— The policy of the Druids in fixing this ceremony for rekindling family fires on the beginning of November, rather than in May, or Midſummer, when the convenience and opportunity were equal, is certainly admirable.

few notices, which may be collected from a variety of authors, who appear as little, if not leſs acquainted with them, than our own natives. Such as may be depended on for their authenticity, are thoſe which follow:

I. None muſt be inſtructed but in the ſacred groves.

II. Miſſelto muſt be gathered on the ſixth day of the month, if poſſible, and cropped with a golden bill or prunning hook.

III. Every thing derives its origin from heaven.

IV. The Deity is one, and infinite, and conſequently to confine his worſhip within walls, is inconſiſtent with his attributes.

V. The Arcana of the ſciences muſt be committed to the memory, but not to writing.

VI. The powder of the miſſelto makes women fruitful, and is a panacea in medicine.

VII. The diſobedient are to be excluded from the ſacrifices.

VIII. Souls are immortal, and after death tranſmigrate into other bodies.

IX. The world is eternal, a *parte ante*, and ſhall never be deſtroyed, unleſs by fire and water.

X. On extraordinary emergencies, a man may be ſlain, and future events predicted from the manner in which the body falls, or moves after it has fallen, as well as from the manner

in

in which the blood flows, or the wound opens.

XI. Malefactors or priſoners, and in caſe of neither, innocent perſons are to be ſlain upon the altar, or burnt alive, incloſed in a wicker Coloſſus in honour of the gods.

XII. All commerce with ſtrangers muſt be prohibited.

XIII. He that comes laſt to the aſſembly of the ſtates, ought to be put to death.

XIV. Children are to be educated apart from their parents, and never to be admitted publickly into their company, till they are fourteen years of age.

XV. Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next.

XVI. There is another world, and they who kill themſelves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.

XVII. Letters given to dying perſons, or thrown on the funeral piles of the dead, will be delivered faithfully in the other world.

XVIII. The moon is a ſovereign remedy for all diſeaſes.

XIX. The diſobedient are to be excommunicated, deprived of the benefit of the law, avoided, and rendered incapable of any employ.

XX. All maſters of families have a power of life and death over their wives, children, and ſlaves.

Such

Such are the wrecks of this celebrated ſect, that have eſcaped the deluge of time; though few, they are valuable; valuable not only on account of their intrinſic worth, but likewiſe, as other rarities are, on account of their antiquity and ſcarceneſs.

As to the people of Britain, they reſembled the antient Celtæ and the Germans in their tempers, manners, and cuſtoms. They were naturally ingenious; quick of apprehenſion; eaſily inſtructed, and formed with a natural propenſity to that kind of eloquence which is ſublime and maſculine.

They were taller, if not more robuſt than the Gauls; wore the hair of their heads very long and ſpreading, but kept their beards cloſe ſhaved, letting their wiſkers grow on the upper lip to ſuch an enormous length, as to become exceedingly troubleſome. The dreſs of the nobles conſiſted of a belted plaid, of various colours, reaching from their waiſt to their ancles, and ſerving both for trowſers and breeches: they likewiſe had chains of gold about their necks, and bracelets of the ſame metal on their arms; thoſe who could not purchaſe theſe ornaments were contented to cover their nakedneſs with ſkins, and to wear a ring on their middle finger: the poorer ſort, and the inland inhabitants, went naked, and ſupplied the want of dreſs, by *colouring their bodies

* From Ceſar's account of this circumſtance one would

bodies with woad, or kelp; ‖ which they rendered more lasting by pricking their skin, before they applied this colouring substance. Defended with no other † covering they braved

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be induced to think, that the Britons rubbed their bodies all over with this vegetable; but from Solinus and Herodian it appears, that they delineated various figures on their skin: and Xiphilin asserts roundly, that different figures were appropriated not only to distinguish the sexes, but likewise to distinguish the married females from the unmarried: the married women, as he says, were distinguished by having the heads of some fierce beasts pictured on their shoulders, elbows, and knees, the sun diffusing his rays on their bellies, moons and stars on their breasts, and other fancies on their arms, thighs, and legs. The bodies of virgins were adorned all over with the pictures of flowers: and the men, whose very sight raised terror, had their breasts and bodies painted with ugly beasts, serpents, ravenous birds, scales and fins of fish, &c. *Marriot. virginia.* An objection may however be raised to this account, from the durableness of these paintings, and the possibility of a female's marriage, which must put her under the necessity of changing the characteristics painted on her, tho' according to Solinus's account, they seem to have been indelible.

‖ The word used by Cesar is *glastum*, which Pliny terms *guastum*, and those who have handled kelp, the ashes of a sea-weed, used in the composition of glass, can testify that it communicates a blue colour to the skin, which cannot be washed out but with great difficulty, tho' it be rubbed on the body ever so slightly.

† They wore iron chains about their necks and waists, by which they suspended their swords; but esteemed them likewise both an ornament and a sign of their wealth: for their money consisted only of iron rings; some of which Speed says, he saw taken out of the earth in little cruises or urns of earth, which were afterwards reposited in the Cottonian library.

the inclemencies of the weather in this cold climate, and would continue whole days together immerſed in mud, without the leaſt hurt.

Their houſes were at beſt wretched cabbins, made of boughs plaiſtered with mud, but even in theſe they found means to ſhew their hoſpitality to ſtrangers, whom they eſteemed as ſacred and inviolable. Thoſe of the better ſort were ſituated near rivers for the conveniency of water, or on eminencies ſurrounded with wood: and thoſe of the common people, in the lower grounds, that afforded paſture for their cattle, which they drove from place to place, according to the ſeaſon of the year, keeping them in marſhy and wet countries in the ſummer, and removing to ſuch as were higher and drier in the winter. 'Twas for this reaſon that the Brigantes and Dumnonii ſettled in Weſtmoreland and Somerſetſhire in the ſummer, and removed to Cumberland and Cornwall in the winter. As their removes muſt be frequent, their houſes, already deſcribed, were erected only for preſent ſhelter, and their cities, were only woods, wherein they cut down a number of trees, with which they ſurrounded the extremities, erecting within the circle hutts for themſelves and ſtalls for their cattle.

Their diet was chiefly apples and bread; and their common drink, water; but on extraordinary occaſions, they indulged themſelves with a fermented liquour made of barley, apples

apples and honey; which they seldom drank to excess, but when intoxicated never failed to quarrel. To this temperance may be ascribed their hardiness and longevity, for Plutarch assures us, that they only began to grow old at the age of 120. Though they had vast numbers of cattle they knew not how to make cheese; though their sheep had the finest fleeces in the world, they never sheared their wool. They kept hens, geese, and hares, not for food, but for diversion; abstaining from the latter because used for the purpose of divination; which might likewise be one reason why they did not eat the others. Though their seas abounded with fish, they would not eat any, for being of opinion that the ocean was the habitation of the gods, they thought every thing that lived there was sacred.

The arms of the better sort were a broad sword without a point, a short dagger, a javelin, and arrows; but the common people had only sticks burnt and sharpened at both ends for javelins, and long staves edged with flint, or headed with copper, instead of halberts, at the lower extremity of which, was an apple or bell of brass, with the noise of which they endeavoured to terrify their enemies in battle. They had neither coats of mail nor helmets, but defended themselves with a light round target made of wood or twigs interwoven, covered with skins and studded with nails.

The only finery they affected, was in reſpect to their war-chariots, which were embelliſhed with curious carvings and paintings, had ſharp ſcythes affixed to the axle-tree, and were built in ſuch a manner as to be ſtopped and turned on the declivity of hills with an amazing dexterity. They were generally drawn by two horſes, which were very ſmall but very ſwift: and contained a driver and a ſingle warrior, who ruſhed into the middle of the enemy ſurrounded by his ſervants and dependants, after having diſcharged his javelins, and ſpread ſlaughter and deſtruction by the ſharp ſcythes fixed to the axle of the wheels.

The manner in which they approached to an enemy reſembled that of the Curetes, and indicated a bravery not to be intimidated with danger, or to be appalled by fatigue: they claſhed their arms together, made a hoarſe and diſmal ſound with their barbarous trumpets, gave a loud ſhout, and marched on dancing and ſinging the valiant deeds of their renowned anceſtors. Their chariots were generally ordered to attack the enemies cavalry, from whence they would frequently leap and fight on foot,* 'till being fatigued or overpowered,

* As ſoon as the warriors had quitted their chariots, the driver uſed to carry them out of the battle; and ſo great was the diſcipline obſerved on this occaſion, that the owner, when obliged to retreat for ſafety, could find his own chariot without any difficulty. It appears to ſome

powered, they reſumed their ſeats, and were ſo expert in the management of theſe vehicles, that they could ſtop or turn them at full ſpeed, ſit, ſtand, or run along their pole, and leap out or in, as occaſion required. By this method of fighting they had both the ſpeed of the horſe, and the ſteadineſs of the foot. They charged with an impetuoſity, that was ſcarce to be reſiſted, but if repulſed by the enemy, were ſoon put into confuſion; after which they could hardly ever rally themſelves. 'Tis acknowledged that they were of ſuch generous ſentiments, that they would never ſteal a victory, and choſe rather to owe their military ſucceſſes to courage, than ſtratagem. Yet they were not entirely averſe to occaſional expedients, as they often retreated on purpoſe to draw the enemy to a purſuit, and when they found them diſperſed would return to the charge, and attack them with ſuch fury, as generally ſecured a victory. They always engaged in ſepa-

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ſome unaccountable why they ſhould thus diſmount to engage the enemies cavalry, and eſteemed a great overſight in their military diſcipline. Theſe chariots were in ſo much eſteem among the Romans, that we have a letter of Cicero to Trebatius, who attended Ceſar in his expedition, wherein he tells him, that, as he had acquainted him there was no gold or ſilver in theſe parts, he ſhould be obliged to him, if he would bring him one of theſe chariots. As a proof of their utility in war, it may ſuffice to mention, that Frontinus tells us, Ceſar was obliged to make uſe of ſtakes, or palliſades to hinder their incurſions.

rate bodies, drawn up at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, that they might have room to act, and when obliged to fall back, might not only be ſuſtained by greater numbers, but always have a ſucceſſive ſupply of freſh troops.

The courage of the ancient Britons was not reſtrained to the male ſex, but ſhone equally in the women, who accompanied their huſbands into the field, animated them to the combat, ruſhed undaunted, though unarmed, into the midſt of the battle, and catched at the ſwords of the enemy. They were conſtituted, eſpecially ſuch as were druideſſes, judges of the infractions of public leagues and treaties, admitted to the councils of war, and conſulted on all occaſions of the greateſt concern and importance.

Yet if our anceſtors had their bright ſide, they had their dark one too; and as the bare mention of their vices may ſerve as leſſons, it will not be unreaſonable to record them. They were too fond of liſtening to news, and would often ſuffer a groundleſs rumour to damp their hopes, and intimidate their courage. As this was a frailty that threatened the very foundation of the ſtate; it was decreed that no one ſhould propagate any rumour that concerned the ſtate, whether it was firſt ſpread by foreigners, or raiſed by the natives; and to cruſh an evil of this kind in its very embrio, they likewiſe made a law, that no one ſhould mention

tion the affairs of the nation unleſs it was in council. It was likewiſe with a view to the ſame frailty, that they made a law, by which every magiſtrate was obliged to conceal ſuch things as he knew would have a bad effect on the minds of the people, and to diſcloſe only ſuch as might be of advantage to the nation.

Another fault with which they are charged, is, their numerous concubinage; a fault which not only Ceſar, but other authors have pointed out as a ſign of their barbarity. If we believe the dictator, it was cuſtomary for ſeveral men to have a number of women common to themſelves *, with whom they laid pro-

* Ceſar relates this vicious cuſtom with the following exaggerating circumſtances, that it was between brethren and parents, who cohabited with the ſame women, to the number of twelve under the ſame roof. But if we conſider the nature of their houſes, which at that time conſiſted only of one floor and one room, we might admit the reality of their living together, without granting the conſequence which the Roman author connects with it: they might live together, but in a manner conſiſtent with modeſty, and a due veneration for the nuptial rites. Not but it muſt be owned that there remains a ſtrong circumſtance on record to the contrary: for Diodorus Siculus relates, that a Britiſh lady being upbraided by Julia the wife of the emperor Severus, on account of this inceſtuous cuſtom, returned her this ſmart anſwer: "That the Roman ladies ought not to reproach them on "that account, becauſe they did publickly with the "beſt of men, no more than the Roman ladies did ſe-"cretly with the worſt and meaneſt of their freedmen "and ſlaves." On the other hand it ſhould be remembered

promiſcuouſly, and that the child born from ſuch a promiſcuous concubinage was fathered by him who firſt laid with the mother. This is certainly a flagrant inſtance of barbarity, which we ſhall endeavour neither to palliate, nor to excuſe: though indeed it might be equalled by ſeveral inſtances of the like moral obliquity, in the moſt polite nations of the world, before the propagation of chriſtianity.

Even in theſe early times the commerce of the Engliſh was not inconſiderable: the Phenicians, the greateſt traders in the world, viſited theſe iſlands for the ſake of their tin, and on account of its excellence and abundance, named them Caſſiterides.

The Phenicians placed the ſtaple of their trade in Spain, and ſo jealous were they of having their route to theſe parts diſcovered, that a ſhip laden with tin being chaſed by a Roman veſſel of greater force, the captain and owner run her on ſhore, in order to prevent his cargo from falling into the hands of the enemy. This conduct, which ſeems done purely to keep the courſe a ſecret, was not only applauded by the Phenician nation, but the owner likewiſe was made ample ſatisfaction for the loſs of his cargo.

We

bered that Strabo, the moſt accurate writer amongſt the ancients, lays not this crime to the charge of the Engliſh, and though he mentions it as imputed to the Iriſh, whom he repreſents as more ſavage than the Britons, ſays, that he cannot give credit to it, even with reſpect to them, becauſe he could not depend on his informers.

We are informed likewiſe, that the inhabitants of the Scillies, would not part with their commodities for money, but inſiſted on having goods in barter; which is a ſtroug preſumption, that they either re-exported theſe foreign commodities, or manufactured ſome of them, and ſold them to other nations; which they might be able to do, notwithſtanding the general charge of ſavageneſs, laid againſt them by moſt authors, ſince it required no greater ſkill, than what they had already ſhewn in extracting and refining metals for making their money, their chains, and the copper heads, with which they tipped their halberts.

The goods and commodities of Britain were corn, cattle, hides, hounds, ivory, bridles, pearls, lead, tin, copper, ſilver and gold: the two firſt metals were of their own growth, but for the two laſt we are informed they imported them from abroad; which circumſtance is ſufficient to eſtabliſh a ſtrong proof of the extenſiveneſs of our commerce.

Our countrymen trafficked not only with the Carthaginians in the weſtern parts of the iſland, but with the northern nations likewiſe, as appears from the flight of Brennus, to a king of Norway, when he quarrelled with his brother: for it cannot be imagined that he would retire to an abſolute ſtranger; and how he could have any knowledge of perſons in thoſe parts without commerce, is a difficulty

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that amounts to a ſtrong proof, that his acquaintance muſt ariſe from the commercial intercourſe between the two nations.

The intercourſe of our countrymen with all the maritime provinces of Gaul is indiſputable, but that our maritime force muſt have been ſomewhat conſiderable likewiſe, ſo as to maintain the dominion of the ſeas, appears from what Ceſar himſelf ſays; namely, that he could get no information concerning the country or ports, becauſe the inhabitants permitted none but merchants to viſit this iſle, and forbid even them from travelling far into the country. A regulation that argues both power and policy!

'Tis true indeed that ancient authors ſpeak in very mean terms of the Engliſh ſhipping; telling us, that they were made of wicker covered with hides; but to conclude from hence that we had no better, would be falſe reaſoning: that the Engliſh ſuccoured the Gauls both by ſea and land is a truth, which Ceſar aſſigned as a reaſon for his invaſion; but this ſurely could not have been performed in theſe leathern boats uſed only for fiſhing, but muſt have been in ſtout veſſels; and our fleet being deſtroyed in aſſiſting the Veneti, was the true reaſon why the natives had not a ſufficient marine force to make head againſt the Romans at ſea, and to hinder their landing.

The keys of the iſland, however in all the ſouth parts of it, which laid next to the continent

tinent were in the hands of another people, whom they had received in their distress, and who having got footing among them, under the character of refugees, made war afterwards upon them as enemies. To this inconvenience was added another, which was founded in the very nature of their constitution, arising from the vast number of petty sovereignties and clans, ruled by their own particular chieftains, who could not be brought always to act in concert against the common enemy. Some indeed of these little principalities had united together, and formed considerable states, either ruled by kings as the Cattieuchlani or Cattivellauni, the Iceni and the Brigantes; or commanded by a general elected occasionally, as the Silures and Ordovices; but those who lived at a distance from danger do not seem to have been affected with the fate of such as had been immediately attacked, or to have sent them any assistance, excepting the Ordovices, who acted in behalf of the Silures, their neighbours.

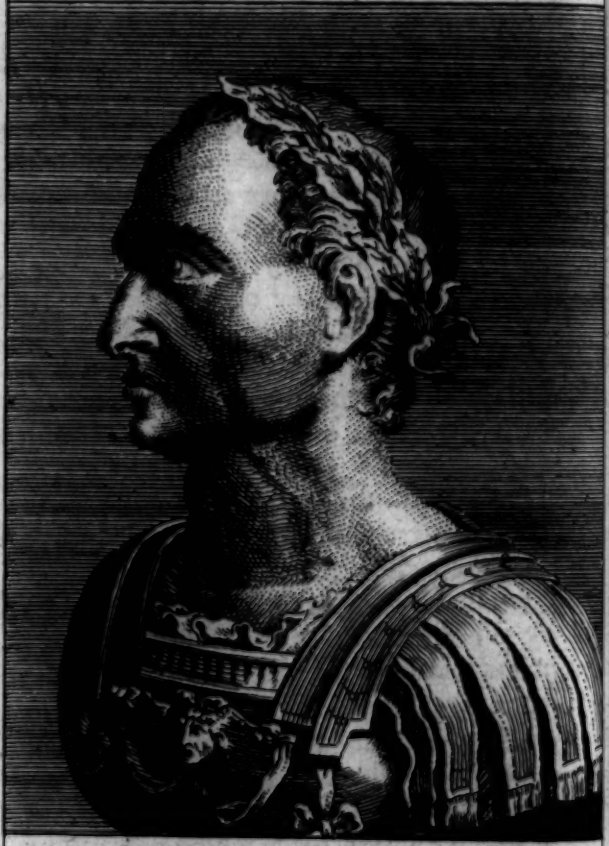
Besides, they were very ill supplied with arms, without money or warlike stores: and without military skill or experience, they lived in an open country, without inclosure, without towns, without fortifications, and without any place of rendezvous or retreat to secure them from an enemy, but what their impenetrable woods and inaccessible bogs and mountains could afford them; and in a word were destitute

deſtitute of all means of defence but what their courage, and native love of liberty inſpired.

In theſe diſaſtrous circumſtances they were alarmed with the news of an invaſion, from a nation that had already conquered half the globe, headed by a general remarkable for his victories over the moſt warlike nations, and eſteemed the moſt accompliſhed commander that the world had ever known,

BRITISH
MUSEUM

The Bust of JULIUS CÆSAR
from an ancient Marble.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

BOOK I.

Containing the History of ENGLAND, *from the invasion of* Julius Cesar, *till the Romans quitted this island.*

BRITAIN was as yet scarce known, so much as by name to the Romans, though they had carried their arms over the greatest part of the habitable world: for the ancients had no idea of any countries lying beyond the ocean, which they imagined to have surrounded the globe. That which they thought to be the boundaries of the world, was deemed by them the only proper boundary for their conquests, and Pompey having extended the Roman conquests to the Caspian sea, relinquished his victories on that side, in order to reduce Syria, Judea and Arabia, for no other reason, but that it might be said, he had carried the Roman armies as far as the red

sea, a branch of the ocean which surrounds the globe.

This instance seems to have operated strongly on the mind of Julius Cesar, who was the rival of Pompey and no ways inferior to him in military skill; not content with the conquest of countries, measuring a thousand miles in length, inhabited by nations whose martial abilities were a terror to all their neighbours, he was ambitious to raise his glory to a point that would admit of no competition, and resolved to give laws to the ocean itself, and spread the terror of the Roman arms into another world, a term by which England was frequently called in those times.

It was an established maxim in the politics of Rome, to deem all auxiliaries as principals, and to allow no one to assist their enemies with impunity: for they thought it such an open declaration of war, as to render other forms unnecessary. This was the pretence, which Cesar laid hold on to justify his * invasion

* This enterprize seems not to have been very acceptable to the Roman people; who looked upon it not only as an hazardous, but likewise as an unprofitable undertaking: Cicero, in one of his epistles to Atticus, expresses himself thus on this subject. "The event of the "British war is waited with impatience. It is certain "all the approaches to that island are fortified by amazing "outworks; and it is universally known, that a scruple "of silver is not to be found in the whole island; nor are "there hopes of any acquisitions except slaves, amongst "whom

vaſion of England; which was not only looked on as an ally, but likewiſe an aſylum for the enemies of Rome. Beſides theſe motives, ſome ſuppoſe that Ceſar was influenced by avarice, and that his true motive was to enrich himſelf with the Britiſh pearls, which in thoſe days were in great requeſt, and of which he was immoderately fond. But as avarice ſeems to have made no part of his character, glory appears to have been his only motive; his pretence indeed was ſpecious, but his ambition like the ocean, which he had croſſed, knew no bounds.

Whatever were the real motives to this enterprize, he was determined to paſs over into this iſland, and though from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, he was ſenſible that it would not allow him time to finiſh the war, he thought it would be no ſmall advantage to him, were he only to viſit the iſland and diſcover the genius and condition of the inhabitants, get ſome knowledge of their coaſts, ports, and havens, the number of nations it was inhabited by, and their laws, cuſtoms, and military diſcipline, which was very little known

" whom I imagine you will not expect to find either mu-
" ſicians or men of learning." Though the Roman orator ſeems to ſpeak in a ſneering manner; and to have no great opinion of the genius or learning of our natives; yet it ſhould be remembered that the learning of the Druids was equal to that of the Romans; and that the muſical proficiency of the Bards perhaps ſurpaſſed them.

to those who trafficked on the coasts. For this purpose, he advised with the merchants, who could give him no satisfaction with † respect to any of these points. But as it was a distinguishing part of his character to attempt nothing without precautions that promised success, he detached Caius Volusenus in a light galley to make what discovery he could upon the coast, and to return as expeditiously as possible.‡ In the mean while, he advanced with all his forces to the land of the Morini, whence was the shortest passage into Britain, ordering

† Though Divitiacus was master of a considerable part of this country as well as Gaul, though several provinces of this island were peopled likewise by colonies from those ports; though the Britons had assisted the Gauls in most of their wars, and such of them as were desirous of understanding the mysteries of Druidism used to pass over to study it here: this ignorance seems to be very astonishing, and too great to be thought any other than pretended, and pretended for reasons, that convey to us an high idea of the policy of the Britains and the secrecy of the Druids.

‡ Suetonius contrary to the express words of Cesar, informs us that he made the discoveries himself, "Per se "portus — exploraſſet." And our great countryman Roger Bacon, misled perhaps by his authority, insinuates that he made these discoveries by telescopes, erected on the Gallic shore: Geoffry of Monmouth however seems to have gone beyond him, in asserting, that he viewed this island from the opposite coast, and finding on enquiry, that the people were derived from the same stock as the Romans, but degenerated on account of their situation, was resolved to make them tributary to the Roman people, which he first endeavoured to effect by letters, but meeting with a refusal, had recourse to arms.

ordering at the same time, all the vessels that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before for his expedition against the Morini, to join him.

Whilst he was here waiting for the return of Volusenus, the merchants, who had been so reserved to him, gave an early intelligence of his design to the inhabitants of the maritime parts of Britain, which causing a general alarm, they immediately dispatched ambassadours to divert the impending storm, and to gain more time to put themselves into a posture of defence, by offers of submission, and hostages as a pledge for their sincerity. Cesar received them with great complacency, and after having exhorted them by specious arguments and fair promises, to continue in the same sentiments, dismissed them. At the same time he ordered Comius, a British prince, whom he had made king for his extraordinary talents and fidelity, to accompany them; and from the esteem in which he was held by the Britons, hoped he would influence them so far as to submit to the Roman Yoke, or to demand his protection. But this expedient was rendered abortive: for Comius was seized on his landing and loaded with chains; not indeed for want of respect to the sacred title of an embassadour, but because being a Britain, his commission itself was a species of treason, and his employ was inconsistent with the being of the state and their native affection for in-

dependency. Voluſenus having coaſted along the ſouthern parts of Britain for about five days, without daring to land, returned to Ceſar, and acquainted him with ſuch obſervations as he had been able to make.

Ceſar having taken proper meaſures for ſecuring a ſafe retreat, and preventing the Gauls from making any inſurrection in his abſence, embarked his infantry on board eighty tranſports, ordering his cavalry which were detained in another port by contrary winds, to join him as ſoon as poſſible; but his orders were not executed with that expedition which the ſucceſs of his attempts required.

He ſet ſail from Gaul about midnight and arrived on the Britiſh coaſt abont ten in the afternoon on Auguſt 26, in the * 55th year before the birth of Chriſt. The place where he came to anchor, appears from this deſcription to be Dover, where the ſea was pent up by ſteep hills, which hung over it. He found the enemy was apprized of this deſign, and had drawn up a numerous army to receive him; but thinking that this was no proper place for landing, he determined to lie at anchor, till the reſt of his ſhips ſhould come up, and in the mean time called a council of war, wherein he acquainted his officers with what he had learned from Voluſenus, and gave them directions in what manner to make their deſcent.

* Lydiat places this invaſion in the 54th year before the Chriſtian æra, and others in the 52d.

deſcent. After they were diſmiſſed, he weighed anchor, having both the wind and tide with him, and having ſailed about eight miles further, where the ſhore * was plane and open, came to an anchor a ſecond time.

The Britons ſuſpecting his deſign had detached their cavalry and war chariots to the ſame ſpot, and, ordering the reſt of their forces to follow, were determined to oppoſe his landing. The difficulties which the Romans had to ſtruggle with in making their deſcent were very great; for their veſſels were ſo large, that they could not ride but in a deep ſea, ſo that the ſoldiers, though loaded with heavy armour, and unacquainted with the ſhore, were at once to leap down from their ſhips, to fix their footing in the waves, and fight with an enemy, who were either on dry ground, or advanced a little way into the water, in places with which they were acquainted, were light armed, and galled them with javelins from ſhore, or elſe rode with amazing vigour and intrepidity into the ſea, and attacked them hand to hand as they leaped from their ſhips.

This

* This appears to have been in the downs near Deale, from the ſeveral circumſtances of Ceſar's account; and is confirmed by the antient tradition of the Britons and Saxons, as appeared from an old table ſet up in Dover caſtle: Nennius embraces the ſame opinion, calling it *Dole*. Ceſar, ſays he, "ad *Dole* pugnavit," and Camden likewiſe informs us, that he himſelf had obſerved the banks of the naval camp which Ceſar made to ſecure his ſhips in this place.

This unexpected opposition had such an effect on the Romans, that they lost their former courage, and would have yielded to the superior bravery of the Britons, had not Cesar directed his gallies to advance with their broadsides towards the shore, and to drive the Britons, with their slings, arrows, and engines fromthe water-side. This expedient had its desired effect, for, being surprized and intimidated at the strange figure of the gallies, the motion of the oars, and the contrivance of the machines used in casting stones, they gave ground a little: Notwithstanding which the Romans seeming still averse to come to shore, as Cesar says, chiefly on account of the deepness of the sea, though perhaps as much on account of the bravery of the islanders, the * standard-bearer of the seventh legion bravely leaped overboard, calling aloud: "Leap after me "my fellow soldiers, unless you have a mind "to betray the eagle into the hands of the "enemy: for myself, I am determined to "perform my duty to my country and my "general." The Romans seeing this, mutually exhorting one another not to suffer such a disgrace as the loss of their standard, jumped out of the ship after him, and their example being followed by those in the other vessels, they made head against the Britons. A bloody combat now ensued, which was maintained with

* Julian the emperour says, Cesar himself leaped out of the ship to encourage his affrighted soldiers.

with equal obstinacy on both sides, and had like to have proved fatal to the Romans, who finding it impossible to form in the water, or stand firm on an oozy bottom, could not avail themselves of their military skill and discipline, but were attacked by the Britons in the midst of their confusion *, as they were getting out of their ships, born down with the furiousness of their horses in the water, or if suffered to get on shore, surrounded by greater numbers, who immediately cut them to pieces.

Cesar, perceiving this dangerous circumstance from the height of his ship, sent all the boats of his gallies, and his pinnaces, well manned with soldiers, to sustain them: and this expedient enabling his men to get on shore, they immediately formed themselves, and charged with irresistible fury. The Roman arms prevailing, the islanders gave way, and fled to the woods, whither the Romans were unable to follow them for want of horse.

The

* In this confused fight Scæva, a Roman soldier, having pressed too far among the Britons, was surrounded, but after a long resistance extricated himself from danger, and swam back again to his general: though received with loud acclamations for his valour, he entreated Cesar's pardon for his rashness, who not only granted his request, but rewarded him with the post of a centurion. This was the first dawn of his bravery, for we find him still more famous on that account in the battle of Dyrrhachium, wherein he shewed his gratitude, by siding with Cesar.

The Britons dispirited at the loss of a battle in which they had engaged with greater advantages than they could ever expect in another situation, had no sooner collected themselves together after this flight, but they sent * ambassadours to sue for terms of peace; to these they joined Comius, whom they set free on this occasion, hoping by his mediation to obtain better terms; and in order to obviate Cesar's resentment for having put this indignity on his friend and deputy, condemned the measure as very indiscreet, and imputed it entirely to the rashness of popular clamour and fury. On the arrival of the ambassadours Cesar at first remonstrated with them on account of their conduct, but afterwards admitted their excuse, granted them peace on easy terms, and demanded hostages, as a security of their fidelity for the future. Some of the hostages were delivered immediately, and they gave him assurance, that they would send for the remainder from the remoter provinces, and dispatch them to him in a few days. In the mean time they dismissed their troops, and summoning a general assembly of their princes and lords, resolved unanimously to recommend themselves and their respective states to Cesar's clemency and protection.

The

* The persons pitched on for this purpose, were the Morini, who were their friends, and who, they imagined would be more agreeable to Cesar, than any of their own natives.

The peace on the ſide of the Britons was an act of neceſſity, not of choice. Perhaps it was no leſs ſo on the ſide of the Romans. They would have penetrated farther into this iſland; they would have viſited the coaſts, and would have conſidered the various parts that might have afforded them a refuge in any future invaſion, if they had not met with a people very different from what they expected. They expected ſavages; they met with ſoldiers*. They had been uſed to ſtrike terror on the continent, they only excited ſpirit and unanimity in a little iſland, where they found courage inſtead of fear, and order inſtead of confuſion.

Ceſar, had left his cavalry behind him. They were windbound four days after his embarkation; and being ordered to join as ſoon as the wind ſhould ſerve, ſet out with a gentle breeze, and were more than half way over the Britiſh channel, when a ſudden ſtorm aroſe, which not only turned them out of their courſe, and forced many of them back to the continent, but likewiſe drove others to the moſt weſtern part of this iſland. This accident was beheld at a diſtance from the Roman camp, at that time pitched on Barham downs. At the ſame time the veſſels that had tranſported Ceſar, and were at anchor, ſuffered greatly from the tempeſt. Twelve of them were abſolutely loſt,

* Dr. Campbel, from conſidering theſe circumſtances, is induced to think that this was not the firſt time that the Britons had to do with invaders.

loſt, and the Romans ſaw themſelves at one deprived of all hopes of proviſion, except ſuch as could be procured from the iſlanders, by ſending out parties to forage at a ſmall diſtance from the Roman camp.

The iſland chiefs, who had not yet ſeparated, reſolved to reap advantage from theſe unexpected circumſtances; and judging from the ſmallneſs of the Roman camp, which was ſo much the leſs, becauſe they had not brought their baggage with them, that they would prove an eaſy conqueſt, and this chaſtiſement would be a means of preventing any future invaſions, they reſolved to make one more attempt to preſerve their independency. For this purpoſe, they ſtole out of the Roman camp, and aſſembled their diſbanded troops with great privacy and expedition. Though Ceſar had no intelligence given him of their deſign, yet from the misfortune of his fleet, he was lead to ſuſpect it, on which account he reſolved to be prepared againſt all events, by making magazines, and refitting his ſhattered veſſels.

During theſe tranſactions, the ſeventh legion being ſent out, as was uſual, to forage, was ſurrounded by the Britons, and would certainly have been cut to pieces, had not Ceſar been apprized of their danger by the centinels, and marched to their aſſiſtance with a reinforcement of all the * cohorts that were upon duty. The

* A cohort was the tenth part of a legion, and con-

The ſudden appearance of Ceſar, though attended with only two cohorts, † put the Britons to a ſtand, but not thinking it proper at that time to provoke them to a general engagement; he made a halt at firſt, and afterwards marched his army back again into the camp, as the Britons did their forces into the woods.

A ſucceſſion of rain and ſtorms for many days together, obliged both parties to ſuſpend their hoſtilities. The Britons in the mean time were not idle, but embraced this opportunity to diſpatch meſſengers to all parts of the country, with exaggerating accounts of the ſmall number and dejection of the Romans, the proſpect of a rich booty, and an opportunity of freeing themſelves for ever, if they could but force the Roman camp. In conſequence of this, they aſſembled in prodigious numbers, came out of their retirement and marched to attack the Romans in their trenches. Ceſar immediately drew out his legions before

G the

tained about ſix hundred men; it was the cuſtom of the Romans to place them before the gates of their camp, whence comes the Engliſh phraſe *Court* or *Cohort* of guard. The legions juſt mentioned, generally amounted to about 25000 foot and 4500 horſe; whence the whole number of foot brought into this iſland, ſeems to have been 50000, and as they were embarked on board eighty tranſports, each veſſel muſt have contained upon an average 625 men.

† A noble author obſerves on this occaſion, "that the "Britons ſeem to have been defective in military con-"duct: that they ought to have attacked Ceſar, and, in "the true ſpirit of liberty, ought either to have con-"quered or to have died."

the camp, and in order to prevent the enemy from securing themselves by flight, after they were routed, as they had done the day before, made use of thirty * horse which Comius had brought over with him from Gaul. Both armies engaged, and both fought with equal spirit and resolution, but the Romans being better disciplined, and more perfect in the art of war, at length prevailed, routed the unhappy Britons, pursued them as long as their horses were able to maintain the chase, slew great numbers of the fugitives, set fire to, and destroyed, all their habitations, wherever they came, and then marched back to their camp.

Thus disheartened by a second defeat, the Britons were once more obliged to sue for peace, from the hands of their invader. Cesar, who seemed not sorry to be thus solicited, received the ambassadours with his usual complacence, insisted on a greater number of hostages

* The bravery of the Gallic cavalry is a fact so universally assented to by all historians, that it would be frivolous to say any thing on that subject; but as the number here mentioned, seems to be so inconsiderable, as to have occasioned some learned men to suspect that 30 is a mistake of the librarian instead of 300, it will not be amiss to remind those gentlemen, that Hirtius relates in the sixth chapter, De bello Africano, that even less than *thirty* Gallic horse were able to repulse two thousand of the Mauritish cavalry, and drive them into the city. "accidit "res incredibilis, ut equites minus xxx Galli, Maurorum "equitum ii millia loco pellerent, urgerentque in oppidum."

tages than he had demanded before, which he ordered to be ſent after him into the continent, and under pretence of avoiding the ſtorms which generally rage in the Britiſh ſeas, at the autumnal equinox, he embarked his troops, and ſtole away from this iſland about midnight.*

* *Smollet* condemns "the *overweening conjectures* of thoſe, who, from an illiberal partiality to their own country, pretend that Ceſar was actually defeated by the Britons; whereas, adds he, it appears that they were utterly unable to cope with him in the field, even when they had an immenſe ſuperiority in point of numbers; that the ſmall advantage they gained over the ſeventh legion, was the effect of ſurprize; and that his ſudden return to the continent in ſuch a ſhattered condition, did not ſo much denote his apprehenſion of the iſlanders, as his dread of a winter paſſage in crazy veſſels, which had ſuffered in the ſtorm. Had he thought himſelf unable to ſubdue the Britiſh power by force of arms, he would probably have had recourſe to other arts, and endeavoured to ſow diſſentions among the different ſtates." In reply to this remark, though we are as little fond of *overweening* conjectures as the writer juſt quoted, we beg leave to remind him, that it was not merely a tradition of the Britons, but even of Ceſar's own countrymen, that he had been defeated by them; and Ceſar's own account, though accuſed by ancient authors as partial, ſhews the advantage gained over the ſeventh legion was not ſmall, nor was the valour of the Britons deſpicable, ſince he declined drawing them to a general engagement, and marched quietly back to his camp after their reſcue: and that his return to the continent was a mark of neceſſity rather than choice, ſeems probable from the time he ſet ſail from hence, from his not ſtaying to receive his hoſtages before he re-embarked; from his concealing the number of men he loſt in both

Such was the issue of Cesar's first attempt upon this island; in which though he only discovered a convenient landing place, without keeping possession of a single inch of ground, or obtaining any other solid advantage, it was extolled at Rome as an enterprize of the greatest glory, and preferred before all his victories over the Germans and Gauls, and honoured with a supplication of twenty days. Although this decree of the senate was certainly extravagant, considering how little advantage was gained over the enemy, it at the same time served as a tacit acknowledgment of the high ideas which the Romans conceived of the valour of our ancestors.

No

the engagements, and from his returning with double the force he had brought with him the first time. If we credit Bede, he lost the greatest part of his men in this expedition, with all his horse: Orosius likewise informs us, that the transports on board which the horse were embarked were cast away in a storm, and that three hundred men, on board two of the transports, that were unable to make the same port as the rest, were set upon by the Morini on their landing, and rescued by a party of horse sent to their relief, after they had been engaged very closely four hours: for this last incident we are indebted to Cesar himself, and cannot help wondering why any one who collects these and other circumstances, can draw any other conclusion from thence, but that Cesar's retreat saved appearances, and preserved his character, at the same time as it rendered the decree made in his favour on account of this transaction an object of ridicule, or at least of astonishment. He stayed on this island till the 20th of September, which was about five and twenty days after his landing.

No sooner had the Romans quitted their coast, than the Britons lost sight of their danger: filled with indignation and resentment, and perhaps actuated by pride and obstinacy, they resolved not to send the hostages, which had been peremptorily required on one side, and had been faithfully promised on the other: two only out of all the states performing this article of the convention. Cesar, who seems to have meditated a second expedition, was not sorry for the violation of the treaty, inasmuch as it furnished him with a plausible pretext for putting his intention into execution. For as soon as he had placed his army in winter quarters, he gave orders for repairing such of his ships as were damaged, and for building a great number of others on a new plan, for the greater convenience of transporting his legions and cavalry, as well as of floating in shallow water; these were broad flat bottomed boats, managed with oars, and calculated for lying close to the beach, and plying against the current of the tide.

The Britons did not want intelligence of his design, and of the great preparations he was making; on the news whereof the Belgic colonies applied to the old natives, who readily agreed to join them. On this occasion they convened a general assembly of the states, in which * Cassivellaunus was chosen a kind

* This prince is variously termed by various authors, some

of dictator, and entrusted with the command of their forces, and the sovereign direction of the war. He was originally the chief of the Cassi, and being formerly engaged in continual wars with his neighbours, had acquired such military skill, as to be deemed a proper person to command in this exigence. But no sooner was the chief invested with his power, than he abused it; instead of making use of it for the defence of the country, he employed it against his neighbours, with whom he had formerly engaged in war, and by putting * Immanuentius treacherously to death, usurped his dominions, which were settled by the † Trinobantes, and thus became possessed of a country that extended fourscore miles into the island. § Mandubratius, son of Immanuentius, fearing the same treatment as his father from the usurper, fled into Gaul, and applied to

some calling him *Cassivellaun*, others *Cassibellinus*, and others *Cast-wallaun*, others *Caswallan*, and others again *Caswal*: But all acknowledge that this word is rather an appellative than a proper name, and signifies that he was king or prince of the Cassi.

* Immanuentius, like Cassivellaunus, is rather an appellative than a proper name, being derived from *Ymanos* formerly, or chief, and *Nuantius*, a Nouantian, and signifying no more than the chief prince of the *Nouantes*, stiled likewise Trinobantes.

† A colony that inhabited Essex and Middlesex.

§ *Mandubratius*, is derived from *Man* little, *du* black, and *Uraicht*, a chieftain who holds under another; implying both a description of his person, and his dignity, as intended to succeed his father in the sovereignty.

to Cesar for his protection, a little before his embarkation.

The orders he had left for the building of a fleet of flat bottomed boats, and repairing his shipping, were so well executed, that no less than six hundred of the former were finished, besides twenty-eight gallies.

This fleet seeming sufficient for his embarkation, was ordered to rendezvous at * *Portus Iccius*, now *Vitsand*, the most convenient for this passage, and not more than thirty miles distant from Britain. After twenty five days stay in this place for a fair wind, he set sail at sun set with a gentle south-west wind, and arrived the next day about noon on that part of the British coast, where he had made his former descent. His army consisted of two thousand horse, and five legions of foot, and his ships, including transports, and every other sort, amounted to above eight hundred. †

Such

* Cluverius, Somner, Tyrrel and Brady say it was *Boulogne*; Horseley will have it to be about *Calais*; and Rowland derives it from *Port-citha*, the utmost or furthest passage; observing that Cesar latinized the ancient Gaulish and British names. It should however be recollected that Cesar says, that this passage is the shortest and the easiest, and by an accurate survey; the distance at Calais from land to land is twenty-six english miles, or twenty-eight and a half Roman; which shews how near Cesar was to the truth.

† Cotta, one of the legates according to Athenæus says, that they amounted to 1000.

Such a number of veſſels appearing at once upon the ocean was a terrifying circumſtance to the Britons; they imagined Ceſar's military forces much more numerous than they really were, and though they had drawn down a body of troops to the coaſt, in order to oppoſe his landing, thought it adviſeable to retire into the more covered part of the country, and ſuffered him to land without making the leaſt oppoſition. As ſoon as Ceſar was landed, and had marked out a proper place for his camp, his firſt enquiry was, into what part of the iſland the Britons had withdrawn, and having learnt their ſituation, and provided himſelf with guides, he left a ſufficient number of forces to guard his fleet, and marched with the reſt in queſt of the enemy. After a march of twelve miles, he came in ſight of their army, which was encamped upon an eminence near a * river, and prepar'd to diſpute his paſſage. At firſt they oppoſed him with their chariots, but the Roman horſe charging them vigorouſly, they again retired to their woods; places, as Ceſar informs us, fortified both by nature and art. They were not only very thick, but the paſſage

* This river is ſuppoſed to be the *Stour*, the Thames being too diſtant, ſo that the battle was fought on the banks of the river north of the town, towards Surry and Fordwich. The ſtrong place to which the Britons retreated after their defeat, muſt have been *Durovernum*, now *Canterbury*, diſtant about twelve miles from the place where Ceſar landed.

paſſage into them was rendered extremely difficult by large trees, which had been cut down and heaped upon each other to a great height. This kind of entrenchment was ſuch as the Britons made uſe of in their civil wars, and had probably been uſed formerly on ſuch an occaſion. Though indeed they did all they were able to keep this faſtneſs, yet the Roman legion took the place by ſtorm, and diſlodged them; but was hindered by Ceſar from purſuing them far, both on account of their being ſtrangers to the country, and his being willing to fortify his camp before the night came on.

Early next morning he detached his army, divided into three bodies, in purſuit of the fugitives; but when they had juſt got within ſight of their rear, they were recalled by Ceſar, who was at that inſtant informed by Attius, that moſt of his ſhips were daſhed in pieces, or driven on ſhore by a violent ſtorm that had happened the night before. Upon this intelligence he haſtened to the ſea ſide, and found forty ſhips were entirely loſt, and the reſt ſo much damaged, as to be unfit for ſea. Having given the neceſſary orders for repairing this misfortune, he took ſuch meaſures as might prevent the like for the future; which was to draw the ſhips on ſhore *, and incloſe them within the ſame fortifications as his camp.

This

* Upon the ſhore about Deal, Sanders and Walmer, is a long range of heaps of earth, called by the people thereabout

This ſtupendous work being finiſhed in ten days, he put his troops again into motion. The Britons had during this interval aſſembled a numerous and formidable army, and under the command of Caſſivellaunnus, took poſſeſſion of the ſame poſt from which they had been lately diſlodged. As the Romans were on their march, they were frequently harraſſed by bodies of the horſe and charioteers, which he detached for that purpoſe; but in moſt of theſe ſhirmiſhes his men were defeated, and purſued even into the woods: In one of the ſkirmiſhes the Romans, having made a great ſlaughter, indiſcreetly followed the Britons too far into theſe thickets, and loſt a conſiderable number of men. Fluſhed with this advantage, the Britons ſome time after ruſhed ſuddenly out of the wood, and fell on the advanced guard of the Romans,* while the reſt were employed in fortifying their camp. Ceſar immediately ſent a conſiderable detachment to ſuſtain his men, who were put into great confuſion by the new ways of fighting uſed by the enemy, and leaving intervals to avoid the chariots, gave an opportunity to the Britons to eſcape, who boldly charged through them before their ranks were cloſed, killed the tribune Quintus Laberius Durus

about *Romo ſwerk*, and ſuppoſed by Camden to have been this ſea camp.

* Bede ſays, that the Roman cavalry was entirely routed in this engagement.

Durus, and secured their retreat to the thicket from whence they had sallied.

On the day after they shewed themselves at a distance on the hills, skirmishing now and then with the Romans, but neither in such great numbers, nor with so much vigour, as they had done the day before. But at noon when Cesar detached three legions with all the cavalry to forage under the command of Caius Trebonius, they suddenly attacked this detachment, and made their way quite to the legions and the standards, who felt their fury. The Romans returning their charge, repulsed them, and put them to an entire rout. Upon this overthrow, the Belgic Britons were deserted by all their auxiliaries, and after this period, never hazarded a pitched battle with the army of Cesar.

As for Cassivellaun he left them to shift for themselves, and retired with his army to his own territories, where he dismissed the greatest part of his forces.

Cesar, being informed of this separation, resolved to pursue him, and advanced with his army to the Thames, with an intention to pass it at the only place where it was fordable: ‖ but when

‖ This place still retains the name of Coway Stakes, near Oatlands, some of the stakes themselves were seen by Bede, as he informs us in his history: and the translator of Rapin tells us, they are even now to be seen at low water, and one of them was pulled out of the Thames last year, but

when he came thither, found that Caſſivellaun had foreſeen his deſign, and taken all poſſible meaſures to diſconcert it. He had lined the oppoſite banks with a large body of troops; he had fortified them with paliſades, and had driven into the bottom of the river, a great number of ſharp ſtakes, whoſe tops were covered by the water: in a word, he had uſed every precaution, that courage, ſagacity and preſence of mind could ſuggeſt: but the Romans were determined not to be repulſed. Their cavalry firſt entered the river, the legions immediately followed, and though obliged to wade up to their chins in water,* croſſed the Thames with ſuch expedition, and charged the Britons with ſo much vigour, that, being unable to ſupport the aſſault, they quitted the banks of the river, and conſulted their ſafety by a precipitate retreat.

Caſſivellaun ſtill coutinued to obſerve the march

but with great difficulty: they are of oak, and though they have lain ſo long in water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton, they have ſeveral knife handles made of them. See *Tindal's note to Rapin. Camden* p. 155. Bed. l. 1. c. 2. Tyrrel p. 34.

* Polyænus tells us, that Ceſar, on this occaſion, made uſe of the following ſtratagem: he cauſed an elephant covered with iron, and loaded with a wooden tower full of men, to be driven into the river, which unuſual ſight ſtruck ſuch terror into the Britons, that they quitted the ſhore.—Geofry of Monmouth ſays that ſeveral thouſand men were drowned in this paſſage, and that Ceſar's army was routed.

march of the Romans, with a ſelect body of forces, generally keeping within woods and inacceſſible places, but ſallying out with his chariots, when he could conveniently attack any party detached from their main body, would often put them into great danger. In the mean time, Ceſar continued to lay waſte the country thro' which he paſſed by fire and ſword. His repeated victories, the inteſtine broils of the kingdom, the immediate preſence of a powerful invader, were circumſtances that tended to damp the ſpirits of a diſunited people, and induced ſeveral of the colonies to entertain hopes of ſuing for an accommodation. The Trinobantes, one of the moſt powerful ſtates, ſet the example: they offered to ſubmit to the conqueror, and to give themſelves up to his diſpoſal, at the ſame time requeſting that he would deliver them from the tyranny of Caſſivellaun, and aſſign the government of their colony to Mandubratius the ſon of their late king Immanuentius. Ceſar accepted of their offers, complied with their requeſt, demanded forty hoſtages, and a quantity of corn for his army, and defended them from the plunder and injuries of his ſoldiers.

The example of the Trinobantes was ſoon followed by ſeveral of the other colonies, particularly the Ceni Magni or inhabitants of Surrey, the Segontiaci of Hampſhire, the Bibroci of Berks, the Ancalities in the hilly parts of Oxfordſhire and Bucks, and the Caſſi

when he came thither, found that Cassivellaun had foreseen his design, and taken all possible measures to disconcert it. He had lined the opposite banks with a large body of troops; he had fortified them with palisades, and had driven into the bottom of the river, a great number of sharp stakes, whose tops were covered by the water: in a word, he had used every precaution, that courage, sagacity and presence of mind could suggest: but the Romans were determined not to be repulsed. Their cavalry first entered the river, the legions immediately followed, and though obliged to wade up to their chins in water, * crossed the Thames with such expedition, and charged the Britons with so much vigour, that, being unable to support the assault, they quitted the banks of the river, and consulted their safety by a precipitate retreat.

Cassivellaun still coutinued to observe the march

but with great difficulty: they are of oak, and though they have lain so long in water, are as hard as brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton, they have several knife handles made of them. See *Tindal's note to Rapin, Camden* p. 155. Bed. l. 1. c. 2. Tyrrel p. 34.

* Polyænus tells us, that Cesar, on this occasion, made use of the following stratagem: he caused an elephant covered with iron, and loaded with a wooden tower full of men, to be driven into the river, which unusual sight struck such terror into the Britons, that they quitted the shore.—Geofry of Monmouth says that several thousand men were drowned in this passage, and that Cesar's army was routed.

march of the Romans, with a select body of forces, generally keeping within woods and inaccessible places, but sallying out with his chariots, when he could conveniently attack any party detached from their main body, would often put them into great danger. In the mean time, Cesar continued to lay waste the country thro' which he passed by fire and sword. His repeated victories, the intestine broils of the kingdom, the immediate presence of a powerful invader, were circumstances that tended to damp the spirits of a disunited people, and induced several of the colonies to entertain hopes of suing for an accommodation. The Trinobantes, one of the most powerful states, set the example: they offered to submit to the conqueror, and to give themselves up to his disposal, at the same time requesting that he would deliver them from the tyranny of Cassivellaun, and assign the government of their colony to Mandubratius the son of their late king Immanuentius. Cesar accepted of their offers, complied with their request, demanded forty hostages, and a quantity of corn for his army, and defended them from the plunder and injuries of his soldiers.

The example of the Trinobantes was soon followed by several of the other colonies, particularly the Ceni Magni or inhabitants of Surrey, the Segontiaci of Hampshire, the Bibroci of Berks, the Ancalities in the hilly parts of Oxfordshire and Bucks, and the Cassi

of Hertfordshire. The unfortunate Cassivellaun found himself deserted on every side, and retired for safety to his capital. † His capital, a capital indeed of hutts and hovels erected in a grove, and surrounded by a trench, was stormed in two places by the Romans, while the besieged betook themselves to flight from another part of the town, loosing great numbers of men in the pursuit, and leaving great quantities of cattle as a prey to the enemy.

Like a brave man, who is loath to be subdued by his misfortunes, Cassivellaun, in the midst of his distresses, conceived a stratagem, which, had it succeeded, would have procured a diversion, and must have recalled Cesar from his territories. He sent instructions to Cingetorix, Carnelius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, princes whose territories lay in Kent, Wilts, and Hampshire, to assemble all their forces privately and surprize the naval camp of the Romans. But this attempt miscarried; for when they approached the camp, the enemy made a vigorous sally in which they killed a great number of the Britons, and took Cingetorix or Lugotarix, their chief general, prisoner. What step was now left for Cassivellaun? Only a submission to the conqueror. A true Briton is always unwilling to submit, and Cassivellaun deferred his submission to the latest

† Supposed to be *Verulamium*, near St. Albans; the walls of which, probably built in the time of Agricola, are now to be seen in the approaches to St. Albans.

latest hour; however, as he was a man of sense, as well as a man of spirit, as his dominions were ravaged by the enemy, as his forces were unable to cope with Cesar's, and as all the inferior generals, or chiefs, were undermining him by making terms for themselves, he resolved to put an end to a disadvantageous war, and sent ambassadours to treat of a surrender, by the meditation of * Comius the Atrebatian.

Cesar being determined to pass the winter on the continent, in order to prevent the Gauls from creating any disturbance, imposed no hard terms of accommodation, but required, in the stile of a conquerour, that † Cassivellaun should guaranty the quiet possession of the kingdom of the Trinobantes to Mandubratius,

* Geoffry of Monmouth says, that this treaty was extorted from Cesar by Androgeus (by which name he and Bede calls Mandubratius) who threatened to join Cassibellaun against him, if he did not make it.

† A noble author in an essay on this part of our English history observes, "that the character of Cassivelaun, as a general, must always shine with great lustre in the English annals. *Si pergama dextra defendi possent etiam hac defensa fuissent:* If Britons could have been defended, such a right-hand had defended them. But his behaviour to the Trinobantes seems to have been tyrannical, and his murder of Inmanuentius carries with it all the marks of a savage barbarity. Yet, perhaps, in the seizure of the Trinobantian colony, he was assisted by the inhabitants themselves; for I am apt to imagine, adds the noble author, that, even in those early days, the Britons were fond of making and unmaking kings."

bratius, received hostages as a security for his performing his contract, and exacted a small * annual tribute to be paid by the states of Britain to the Roman people. Peace being thus re-established, he ordered his ships to be launched,

* Geoffry of Monmouth says, it amounted to three thousand pound weight of silver. As Cesar left no garrison, and made no settlement in Britain, it is probable that this article was rejected by all the inhabitants excepting the Belgic colonies, who, as their chief dependance being on their commerce, durst not refuse to pay the imposition for fear of having their merchandize seized by the Romans, and from the word used by the Roman authors, it seems to have been rather a duty laid on commodities, than a general tribute. For it should be observed, in opposition to what a modern historian says, that Cassivellaun being appointed in a general assembly of the British princes, the captain-general, in chief of all the English forces, he was empowered to make what terms he pleased, in the name of himself, and of the whole British people. This second expedition is, by some, placed in the fifty-fourth year before the Christian æra, but by others in the fifty-first; and as may be collected from several circumstances interspersed in Cicero's letters, must have been completed in the month of August. That the Romans did not look on this enterprize as an absolute conquest, is apparent from authors of the best authority. Dio Cassius says, that the Britons utterly routed the Roman infantry, but were put into disorder by the cavalry. Suetonius adds, that he was fairly beaten by the Britons. Tacitus says, he did not conquer Britain, but only shewed it to the Romans. Horace and Tibullus speak of them as not conquered in the time of Augustus, stileing them *Invictos*. And Lucan goes so far, as to say, that he turned his back to the Britons and fled; which is the very same as our own authors have said, and may, perhaps, derive some credit to their assertion.

ed, put his men on board at two embarkations, and landed safely on the continent.

On his return to Rome, he offered a corslet of British pearls to Venus, and a long train of * captives, whom he afterwards employed about the scenes and tapestry of the theatre, on which the British atchievements were represented.

The British history is silent with respect to what happened in this island for some years after the departure of Julius Cesar. It just mentions that Cassivellaun died about seven years after, and was buried at York, and then tells us, that he was succeeded by † Tenuantius, the brother of Androgeus or Mandubratius, who was a person of a martial disposition, and a strict observer of justice. On his demise, he was succeeded by his son Cymbeline, or Cunobeline, who was educated at Rome by Augustus Cesar, kept up a friendly correspondence with the Romans, and coined money in order to pay the tribute. During the reign of Augustus, this king's prudence was so remarkably exerted, that the Britons remained entirely unmolested. Not but that the emperour having settled the affairs of the empire, had formed a design of visiting Britain the year before the commencement of the Christian æra,

* The British slaves were likewise employed in carrying the emperour's sedan, as appears from an old inscription in the gardens of cardinal Carpenso.

† A. A. C. 1.

but was diverted by the revolt of the Panonians.* Seven years after, however, he resumed his design, and being met in Gaul by the ambassadours from Britain, promising to pay him his tribute, he desisted a second time. Finding the next year that they did not keep their words, he prepared a third time for the invasion of the Britons, but was prevented from putting his design in execution, by their sending ambassadours, who offered in the capitol, sacrificed to the Roman gods, swore obedience in the temple of Mars, promised to pay their tribute punctually, and consented to an imposition on such goods as were exported. This seasonable submission pacified the emperour, who declined any future attempts upon the island, from a persuasion that either the friendship or enmity of the Britons was of little moment, or from a state maxim, mentioned by Julian, that it was proper to set bounds to the empire, lest it should grow too great and unwieldy.

† Tiberius followed the maxims of Augustus, and made no attempt upon the island. As the Britons continued paying their customs, he had no pretext for it. Nay, he had an obligation to the contrary; for when some of the fol-

* A. D. 8.

† Tacitus, speaking of this behaviour towards the Britons, says, *Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius præceptum, i. e.* "This conduct Augustus called policy; the example of Augustus was a precept to Tiberius."

soldiers of * Germanicus had been wrecked on the English coasts, they were not only received with great humanity, but sent them back in safety to their general. In consequence of such friendly dispositions, there was a constant intercourse between the two nations, the principal nobility resorted to Rome, and some of them were educated there.

Cunobeline, who had reigned in Britain, during the time of these two emperours, and by his wisdom, courage, and public spirit, had rendered both himself and the nation happy, found the latter part of his reign clouded with a misfortune that not only eclipsed its previous lustre, but likewise involved his country in danger. This prince had several sons, among which were Adminius, called by the British writers Guiderius,† Caractacus and Togodumus; the last of these, as his name imports, was governour of the Dobuni, the second probably of those parts of the Cattivelauni that lay next to the Silures. Adminius having behaved so ill, that his father was obliged to banish him, repaired to Caligula, and incited him to invade his country Tiberius. This emperour was vain, impetuous, and extravagant; but cowardly, passive and irresolute. Nothing could be more welcome to him than this ap-

* A. D. 16.

† Called likewise *Caratachus*, or *Caradoc*, perhaps from *Gerair*, wise, prudent, or experienced, and *Tog*, a general.

application from Adminius; he sent his letters to the Roman senate, ordering the messengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and the very curia, strictly charging them not to deliver them but in the temple of Mars, as if the whole island had submitted to him. He immediately † assembled an army of two hundred thousand men, passed the Rhine, repassed it without seeing an enemy, plundered Gaul, marched to Boulogne on the Gallic shore, where he ordered his men to sound a charge, and no enemy appearing, commanded his soldiers to fill their helmets with shells, which he called the spoils of the ocean, and sent to Rome by land, together with the galleys that attended him by sea, to serve as ornaments of his intended triumph. As a monument of his imaginary victory, he built a light-house on the coast opposite to Norfolk, named by the natives *Britten-huis*, or the British-house, and by the Romans *Turris-ardens*, since, by the common people, corruptly termed *Tour Ordans*, or *Tour d'Ordre*, and being repaired by Charlemagne, is still subsisting as a noble monument of Roman antiquity.

Cunobeline did not long out-live this emperour, and was so happy as to die before the Romans set foot, as enemies, again in Britain.

He was succeeded by his son Gwyder, or Guiderius, a brave and generous prince, of whom

* A. D. 39. by some placed in A. D. 41.

whom the Roman historians say nothing, because they reaped no great honour from their wars against him. In the very beginning of his reign, he refused to pay them tribute on account of some fugitives that had fled to the Romans, and were not delivered up when demanded. Among these was * Beric, who probably was one of the chieftains of the Dobuni, a man of parts, but a traitor; he had been engaged in a civil war which the princes of Britain had made upon one another, and being forced to quit his country, is supposed to be the chief instrument that stirred up Claudius to undertake the conquest of this island.

The Britons had justly ridiculed the military sopperies of Caligula, but they carried their exultations too far. They imagined themselves invincible, because a Roman emperour and his numerous army had pompously marched to the sea shore, and were afraid to cross the ocean. Our ancestors remained wrapped up in this security at the accession of Claudius, whose personal character could not give them least grounds for apprehension. He was as indolent as Tiberius, and as cowardly as Caligula; but it was his good luck to be governed by counsellors, whose judgment compensated for the deficiency of his own. Among these were, Ostorius Scapula, and Aulus

* Mat. Westm. places this transaction in A.D. 44. which is perhaps one year too late.

Aulus Plautius, both men of great eminence in rank and reputation. To the latter was assigned the command of the army destined to act against the Britons.

* When Plautius came to the sea side, his forces expressed such a strong aversion to being transported, as they called it, to another world, that their embarkation was delayed for fear of a mutiny. The news of this circumstance being brought to the Britons, confirmed them in the notion, that the Romans would never dare to attack them, and kept them from drawing their forces together to oppose their landing. Another favourable circumstance in behalf of the Romans arose from the dissentions at that time raging in this island, which were carried to so great a height, that Plautius landed without the least opposition. He found the island like a desert, scarce an inhabitant appeared. The Belgic Britons had retreated into woods and fortresses from an enemy, whom they did not choose to irritate for fear of loosing their commerce, and with whom they were unprepared to engage. Thus unmolested, he passed through Kent by the same rout which Julius Cæsar had taken before, then coasting along the Thames, till he came to Wallingford, he crossed the river, and entered the territories of the Dobuni, a colony to whom Oxfordshire, and a great part of Glou-

* A. D. 43. According to some, A. D. 45.

Glouceſterſhire belonged. Cunobeline was now dead: this country belonged to Togodumnus, as that of the Cattivellauni did to this elder brother Caratacus.

Plautius meeting with the enemy here, engaged firſt with Caratacus, and afterwards with Togodumnus, and defeating them both, reduced part of the Dobuni, whoſe country he garriſoned, and went in purſuit of the Britons, who upon their defeat had retired to a river, probably the Tame, which they thought unpaſſible. As there was no bridge, they were encamped very careleſly, but were ſurprized by the Germans, who ſwam over the river, and killed a great number of the horſes, which drew the Britiſh chariots, in which their main ſtrength conſiſted. The paſſage being thus opened, Flavius Veſpaſianus, afterwards emperour, and his brother Sabinus paſſed over with a body of Roman forces to ſuſtain them, and forced the Britons to retreat. The Britons however, returned the next day, and charged the Romans ſo bravely, that the victory remained for ſome time doubtful; but at laſt were obliged to retire, chiefly by the diſtinguiſhed valour of Caius Sidius Geta, who was once upon the point of being taken, and though neither conſul, nor chief commander, had triumphal honours decreed, as a teſtimony of his merits.

From hence Caratacus retreated to the Thames, following the courſe of the river, till he

he came to a place where it overflowed its banks, and left behind a quantity of ſtagnating water; at preſent ſuppoſed to be the iſle of dogs, almoſt oppoſite to Greenwich; becauſe the river is there fordable, and at no other place between that and the ſea. In this place he paſſed over eaſily, being acquainted with the nature of the ground, and ſeems to have had a deſign by this means to have drawn the Romans into danger. But the Germans ſwimming over as before, and the Romans paſſing at a bridge a little higher, the Britons were ſurrounded on all ſides, loſt Togodumnus ‖ were routed with great ſlaughter, and retreated acroſs the Thames, where they were followed by Plautius. Both armies encamped on the ſide of the river, next to Gaul; but in what ſituation is not yet determined.

The Roman general remained in his camp, and evidently declined an engagement. The Dobuni, though four times vanquiſhed, and ſtill in a ſtate of exile from their colony, attributed this to fear: but they were miſtaken. The inactivity of Plautius was neither the effect of fear nor caution: he waited for the arrival of the emperour; and from a nobleneſs of ſoul

‖ This Prince is named Guiderius in the Britiſh hiſtory of Geoffry of Monmouth, and this battle related with ſuch circumſtances as are entirely romantic. His brother's name is there called Arviragus, by which he ſeems to be known likewiſe to the Romans, who ſpeak of him as a perſon of heroic valour.

ſoul, not common in a general, intended to crown his imperial maſter with all the laurels and honours, that might ariſe from any future conqueſts.

Claudius immediately embarked at Actium for Marſeilles, whence he travelled by land to Boulogne, there took ſhipping for the Britiſh coaſt, and landed ſafely at Sandwich. He immediately marched his troops to the mouth of the river Thames, where Plautius was encamped. As ſoon as the Roman forces were all joined, they repaſſed the Thames in the face of the Britons, who bravely diſputed their paſſage. Hence the emperour advanced into the country of the Trinobantes; and took Camalodunum, now called Malden in Eſſex, the capital of Cunobeline. The fame of his victories ſtruck ſuch terror that many of the Belgic colonies thought it a proper time to ſubmit. As for the ancient natives, they could not part ſo eaſily with their liberty; the Iceni only courted his friendſhip, and were conſidered as his allies; while the brave Caractacus ſtill kept the field at the head of the Caſſivellauni, in hopes that the Romans would be obliged to retire by the winter. Thoſe who ſubmitted, were placed under the government of Plautius, and after a ſtay only of ſixteen days in the iſland, Claudius returned into Gaul, in his way to Italy, where he was honoured with a triumph and the ſurname of Britannicus.

Plautuis judged rightly in sending for such a figure to be carried about at the head of the army; his judgment was not less exquisite in sending it back quickly. A longer stay might have discovered the idol to have been pasteboard, and the Britons might have been induced to despise the pageant, when they found it only a moving machine in the human form.

As soon as Claudius had set sail, the Romans resolved upon a farther progress into different parts of our island. They divided their forces under the command of the two generals, Aulus Plautius the proprætor, and Flavius Vespasianus, afterwards emperour. The latter was employed against the Belgic colonies; and the former against the inland, warlike and original islanders. His conquests were very rapid, and acquired with very little resistance; for the Belgic colonies were inhabited by traders, whose interest it was to be at peace, and even united to the Roman empire, in all appearance followed the example of their countrymen, and submitted as readily to Vespasian as they had done to Claudius. And that this was the case with respect to the Dummonii in particular, appears from hence, that there is no trace of a Roman station or encampment in all their territories, which there must have been, had they been subdued by force, or it had been necessary to keep them in subjection by means of a garrison. We need not wonder then that he subdued Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somer-

Somersetshire and other Belgic colonies to the extremity of Cornwal. The Belgiæ indeed and Durotriges, two of the most powerfal nations of the Britons cut him out more work; they had adopted the manners of the old Britons, inured the youth to hardships, and from being employed in driving their cattle among the downs and forests, derived the name of Ceangi or Cangi, *i. e.* drovers. To these advantages of person they had others of situation, the vast woods which covered the downs of Wilts and Dorset, the inaccessible hills of Mendip, and the vast morasses of Somerset, which places afforded them opportunities enough to surprize a less wary general. But Vespasian, who was never rash in running his troops into danger, though brave and intrepid in the greatest, reduced them entirely; and after he had subdued them, governed them by such wise regulations that they never attempted to revolt, but even furnished the Romans with soldiers to reduce the more northern inhabitants. After thus settling the country, he had subdued, he returned to § Rome, where his merits procured him the honour of a triumph, and he was elected consul.

As for Plautius, he had greater difficulties to encounter in his war with the old Britons; he was to deal with Caratacus a prince of uncom-

‡ A. D. 49. § A. D. 51

mon abilities. He was endued with the moſt undaunted courage, and the moſt invincible fortitude: he was naturally turned for war, and by long experience, had acquired ſuch a degree of military ſkill, as could not have been expected in one of his country; he was bred up in hardſhips, patient in adverſity, vigorous in his meaſures, but judicious in the choice; never undertaking any action without ſecuring ſome advantage, and ſo fruitful in expedients that the very day after he had been worſted, he was generally ready for a ſecond engagement. Finding his men inferior to the Romans in arms and military diſcipline, he took his meaſures ſo as to avoid coming to a general engagement; but never miſſed an opportunity of ſurprizing them, and ſcarce allowing them time to breathe, harraſſed them continually with ſkirmiſhes. In this manner, at the head of the Caſſivellauni alone, he reſiſted the power of the Roman empire. Plautius could not make any great progreſs againſt ſuch an enemy; but by his vigilance, activity and conduct ſubdued the Dobuni, Ancalites and Trinobantes, or the inhabitants of Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Middleſex and Eſſex: he likewiſe reduced Hertfordſhire, and carried the Roman arms into the lower countries of Bedfordſhire and Northampton; but finding his taſk too difficult, contented himſelf with the laurels he had gained, and returned to Rome, where he had great honours done him by the emperor

emperor, and was allowed a leſſer kind of triumph, called an Ovation.

Between his departure and the appointment of his ſucceſſor, which was at leaſt two years, this kingdom ſeems to have been managed only by the legates of legions, over whom Caratacus gained ſeveral advantages, and recovered a great part of his territories.

* Oſtorius Scapula was at laſt pitched upon to ſucceed Plautius in the title of Proprætor, and in the command of the army. He was both an active and an experienced general. On his arrival he found the affairs of his province in great confuſion, the enemies were ravaging the Roman province, and the ſeaſon for action was almoſt over: yet, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, he took the field, and, though a ſtranger both to his own troops and the country, attacked the Britons, and obtained a complete victory. After this ſucceſs, he took ſuch precautions to ſecure the Roman province in this iſland from future inſults, as ſhewed him no leſs eminent for his conduct than his valour. For this purpoſe he formed a chain of forts along the river Avon or Nen in Northamptonſhire, and on the banks of the Severn likewiſe: on this occaſion he planted a colony of veteran ſoldiers at Camelodunum, or Malden; and London being ſettled about this time, † the country between the Thames

* A. D. 50.
† A. D. 51.

and the sea was reduced into a Roman province called Britannia prima.

Not satisfied with building forts, and planting garrisons, he took another precaution to prevent his forces from being surprized by an enemy that was always restless and enterprizing, which was to disarm all persons whose fidelity he suspected. This expedient gave great offence to the Iceni, a powerful nation, who had hitherto lived in amity with the Romans; they refused to deliver up their arms, and being incensed at the demand, formed a confederacy with their natives, and took the field with a formidable army. Ostorius alarmed at this event, marched against them to prevent their being joined by further reinforcements, without staying for his legions, and though he attacked them only with his auxiliaries, forced their intrenchments, notwithstanding they had fortified the avenues with loose flints to annoy his cavalry, and beat them from thence after an obstinate resistance.

In order to preserve the Roman conquests on the Severn from the incursions of the Silures, he allowed * Cogidunus king of the Dobuni to keep possession of the counties of Glocester, and Oxford, and likewise added some other Belgic colonies to his government. This expedient, which argued great policy, succeeded to his wish, by fomenting dissentions among the

* From *Cocuy* lordship, rule or dominion; and *Dobuni*, from *Duffen*, or *Duvn* low, expressing their low situation in the vales of Oxford and Gloucestershire.

the Britons, and attaching a powerful prince to the Roman interest, which the worst of circumstances could not prevail on him to abandon.

Ostorius having made these dispositions, marched into the country of the Cangi, or Shropshire, which he plundered, and penetrated almost as far as the sea coast of Denbighshire, when he was recalled by the revolt of the Brigantes in Yorkshire. This insurrection being opposed at its commencement by a battle, and the execution of the ringleaders, he was in hopes to prevent any thing of that kind for the future.

But neither clemency, nor mildness, nor severity could work on his enemies. They were endued with a stubborn bravery, that scorned the superior power of the Romans. They fought with the resolution of men, who esteemed the enjoyment of their laws and liberties as the greatest blessings under heaven. The love of liberty, and a true devotion to its cause, seems to have been implanted by nature in the breasts of our forefathers; it shone in the person and characters of the Silures, a powerful, hardy and warlike nation, who inhabited the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, and the adjoining provinces of South-wales: it shone in the character and person of their monarch Caractacus, a prince of noble birth, and a proud undaunted spirit. Though driven from his own Dominions, and defeated of the hopes he entertained from the insurrection of the

the Brigantes, he ſtill remained reſolute neither to ſubmit, nor to let the Romans remain quiet. His forces were indeed inferior to theirs, but he had defended himſelf with inferior forces, nine years ſucceſſively.

Oſtorius being informed of his junction with the Silures, marched immediately by the moſt expeditious rout to attack him. Caractacus, unwilling to make the country of the Silures the ſeat of war, paſſed the river Teme, that divides Herefordſhire and Shropſhire, and being reinforced by a body of the Ordovices from different parts of Wales, poſted his army in a very advantageous ſituation. His camp was pitched upon an high mountain, the moſt acceſſible part of which was fortified with a rampire of looſe ſtones, and the foot of it guarded by a body of his choiceſt troops, and waſhed with a river not eaſily forded: this river was probably the Colun or Clun that falls into the Teme, and the place of the mountain on which he was encamped, that which is at preſent called Caer Caradoc.

On the approach of Oſtorius, he drew up his army according to their different clans, and placed, at the head of each, their native lord: then viſiting every rank in perſon, he animated them to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, by telling them that the enjoyment of their liberty, or a perpetual ſlavery depended on the fate of that day. His exhortation was received with the loudeſt acclamations, and

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every clan vowed ſeparately that they would not yield to any difficulty, nor receive quarter. Oſtorius being ſtartled at the alacrity which the enemy ſhewed to engage, and conſidering the difficulties which his men were to ſurmount, ſeemed averſe to attack them. However, his ſoldiers appearing impatient for action, and being aſhamed to be outdone by a Briton, he paſſed the river, demoliſhed the rampire, and forced the enemy to an engagement. The event of the battle was fatal to Britain in general, and particularly unfortunate to Caractacus, whoſe wife and daughters were taken priſoners. The unhappy prince eſcaped only to become miſerable; he fled to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, and by ſome thought to be his ſtep-mother, in confidence of receiving at leaſt ſome inſtance of friendſhip and protection. But ſhe treacherouſly ſeized his perſon, and betrayed him to the Romans, who ſent him, with the reſt of his family in chains to Rome.

The behaviour of Caractacus in this metropolis of the world was truly great. When brought before the emperor he appeared with a manly, decent and compoſed countenance, and if we credit Tacitus, addreſſed himſelf to Claudius in the following harangue;

"If in my proſperity, the moderation of my conduct had been equivalent to my birth and fortune, I ſhould have come into this city not as a captive, but as a friend: nor would

you

the Brigantes, he ſtill remained reſolute neither to ſubmit, nor to let the Romans remain quiet. His forces were indeed inferior to theirs, but he had defended himſelf with inferior forces, nine years ſucceſſively.

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every

every clan vowed separately that they would not yield to any difficulty, nor receive quarter. Ostorius being startled at the alacrity which the enemy shewed to engage, and considering the difficulties which his men were to surmount, seemed averse to attack them. However, his soldiers appearing impatient for action, and being ashamed to be outdone by a Briton, he passed the river, demolished the rampire, and forced the enemy to an engagement. The event of the battle was fatal to Britain in general, and particularly unfortunate to Caractacus, whose wife and daughters were taken prisoners. The unhappy prince escaped only to become miserable; he fled to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, and by some thought to be his step-mother, in confidence of receiving at least some instance of friendship and protection. But she treacherously seized his person, and betrayed him to the Romans, who sent him, with the rest of his family in chains to Rome.

The behaviour of Caractacus in this metropolis of the world was truly great. When brought before the emperor he appeared with a manly, decent and composed countenance, and if we credit Tacitus, addressed himself to Claudius in the following harangue;

"If in my prosperity, the moderation of my conduct had been equivalent to my birth and fortune, I should have come into this city not as a captive, but as a friend: nor would

you

you, Cesar, have disdained the alliance of a man born of illustrious ancestors, and ruler over several nations. My present fate is to me dishonourable; to you magnificently glorious. I once had horses; I once had men; I once had arms; I once had riches: Can you wonder that I should part with them unwillingly? Although, as Romans, you may aim at universal empire, it does not follow, that all mankind must tamely submit to be your slaves. If I had yielded without resistance, neither the perverseness of my fortune, nor the glory of your triumph had been so remarkable. Punish me with death, and I shall soon be forgotten. Suffer me to live, and I shall remain an everlasting monument of your clemency."

The manner in which this noble speech was delivered, affected the whole audience, and made such an impression on the emperor, that he ordered the chains of * Caractacus and his family to be taken off: and Agrippina, who was more than an equal associate in the empire, not only received the captive Britons with great marks of kindness and compassion, but confirmed to them the enjoyment of their liberty.

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* As every thing relating to so great a man deserves notice, it would be injurious not to mention the reflection he made on viewing the city, and admiring the beauties of Rome. "Nothing, said he, surprizes me so much, as that the Romans, who have such magnificent palaces of their own, should envy the wretched huts and cabbins of the Britons!

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The victory over Caractacus procured Ostorius the honours of a triumph; but proved in some respect the last instance of his good fortune: for whether the Roman troops became more secure or negligent after the conquest of Caractacus, or the courage of the Britons was redoubled by resentment, they gained several advantages over the enemy. They fell upon a Roman field-marshal left with a body of troops, to build forts among the Silures, and would have cut them all to pieces, had they not been sustained by a reinforcement from the nearest stations. Soon after this they defeated the foragers and the cavalry that escorted them; and though Ostorius came to support them with his legions, they maintained the battle till night, and retired with very little loss. This engagement was followed by innumerable skirmishes, fought with various success, in which the Silures distinguished themselves remarkably. A rash word had imprudently dropped from the proprætor, and had exasperated them with an implacable resentment. He had said, that the Britons should never be quiet, till the Silures met with the same fate as the Sicambri, who were extirpated or transplanted to another country. The Silures on this account redoubled their hostilities, cut off two auxiliary cohorts, that were roving about the country for plunder, and by distributing the booty and captives among the neighbouring nations, paved the way for a general

general revolt, when Ostorius * died, worn out with cares and anxiety.

Claudius considering the precarious situation of affairs in this island, lost no time in dispatching Aulus Didius Gallus, as proprætor; but notwithstanding his expedition, he found on his coming that the Silures had defeated the legion commanded by Manlius Valens, and ravaged all the countries about them. An open rupture had happened betwen Venutius, prince of Uici, or Vigantes, inhabiting Warwick and Worcestershire, and his wife † Cartismandua, who was queen of the Brigantes, and notorious for having betrayed Caractacus. A war ensued, in which the queen having inveigled Venutius's brother and kindred into her power, by a fresh act of treachery, gave so much offence to the neighbouring states that they joined him against her. In order to counterballance this alliance Cartismandua had recourse to the Romans, whom she had so signally obliged: Aulus Didius, who was too much advanced in years to come to her in person, sent some cohorts to her assistance, and soon after Cesius Nasica with a whole legion: several battles were fought, but the advantages,

* A. D. 53.

† Lord Cork says that, "Cartismandua betrayed Caractacus, not so much from the motives of fear or treachery, as from a desire of gaining the protection and assistance of the Romans against her husband Venutius, and his whole family; whom she held in the utmost detestation,

gts were generally more on the side of the Romans, than on the side of the Britons.

Elated with this instance of the friendship of the Romans, or impatient to gratify an irregular passion, she married her general Vellacatus; an indiscretion which alienated the minds of her subjects to such a degree, that Venatius by their assistance, made himself master of a great part of her territories; and though the Romans marched on the first notice, to her succour, all they could do, was, only to save her from being taken prisoner: while in espousing her quarrel they converted a serviceable ally into an irreconcileable enemy, and entailed a dangerous war on the empire.

Veranius succeeded Didius, in the reign of Nero. He was more active than his predecessor, and meditated nothing less than the reduction of the island; but dying in less than a year, left his vast projects unexecuted.

At the first landing of Julius Cesar, the Britons were a people without riches, without any considerable commerce, and without agriculture. At the accession of Nero, they were sufficiently rich to pay the tribute imposed upon them by the Romans: this present opulency arose from the number of their herds, from their experience in agriculture, and from the produce of their wool. Their herds of cattle were always numerous; their improvements in agriculture were owing to their intercourse with

A. D. 58.

the continent, and their wool was reckoned of so fine a texture, that it was much esteemed, and sought after by foreigners, as it is to this day.

From the defeat of Caractacus, the Britons, were looked upon as tributary provinces to the empire of Rome; they were permitted indeed, in all controversies, purely relative to themselves, to be determined by their own laws, and to be governed by their own princes; but in all assessments, in levies for the army, as well as in other instances, both the princes and people, where the Roman arms had prevailed, were equally subject to the conquerors. Their situation was remarkably unhappy under Nero's government. The vices of this emperour soon grew to such a height, that the riches of the whole world were insufficient to satiate it. Every kingdom, every province of the world was taxed with great rigour; but the taxations of the Britons were more sensibly grievous and oppressive: they consisted in a tenth of the produce of all their arable ground; a certain sum of money in proportion to the number of cattle in a province; poll money, and a tax for removing the corpse of a person without the consent of the governours. The tax upon cattle, which was their principal subsistance, was extremely grievous, and being paid in money, they were obliged to borrow at excessive interest of the

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Romans,* but not being able to pay it, when redemanded, had their goods confiscated, and were turned out of their possessions. These circumstances operated very strongly upon the minds of the Iceni, who inhabited Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, the adjoining parts of Essex, and the country as far north as Lincolnshire. Their provocations were great, but great as they were, they were aggravated by the insolence with which the Romans treated their misfortunes; their miseries were the subject of ridicule, they were called slaves upon every occasion, and forced to till the ground and work as artificers. Yet this was not all, they had still greater provocations, which made them cast off a yoke they had born with some impatience, and stirred them up to an open rebellion.

Prasutagus their king, lately deceased, had bequeathed his estate, as a joint inheritance between the emperor and his own daughters in hopes, that by the sacrifice of one part, he might secure the other to his family; but his precaution was rendered abortive by Catus Decianus the procurator of the province, who took possession of the whole, on pretence of executing the will of the deceased. Bunduica the widow of Prasutagus remonstrating against this conduct, as an act of injustice; he ordered her to be scourged, violated the chastity of her

* A. D. 61.

two daughters, treated her relations like ſlaves, ſeized the houſes of her huſband, pillaged his kingdom, and turned the nobility out of their paternal eſtates.

Theſe ſhocking barbarities exaggerated by the queen, who was a woman of a maſculine ſpirit, and an irreſiſtible eloquence, made the Iceni declare openly in her favour.

They were joined by the Trinobantes, who had likewiſe their particular grievances, great numbers of them, whoſe eſtates lay near Camelodunum or Maldon, were turned out of their eſtates to make room for a colony of veterans. They indeed complained, but their complaint inſtead of mitigating, was made uſe of to aggravate their misfortunes. The temple erected at Camelodunum, in honour of Claudius, which they were obliged to ſupport, was another grievance; not only on account of the amount of its expences, but likewiſe an account of its claſhing with their religious tenets, and of its being a perpetual monument of that emperor's conqueſt, and their own ſlavery.

What ſtill contributed to make this revolt univerſal, were the barbarities which Suetonius had practiced againſt the Druids in the iſle of Angleſey, whom he burnt on their own altars, after cutting down and deſtroying their ſacred groves, with a fury, that ſhowed he had no other intention but the utter extirpation of that order. The Druids interſperſed through-

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A DRUID.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH MUSEUM

out this kingdom, no ſooner heard of the maſſacre of their brethren, and the deſtruction of their ſeminary, than, it is natural to ſuppoſe, they ſtirred up the people to a general inſurrection; and the people as naturally roſe in defence of their religion. That this was one of the motives which animated the Britons on this occaſion, ſeems evident from the prodigious numbers of men that were brought into the field. At firſt the Iceni and their confederates amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, but being joined by the Brigantes, and other remoter ſtates, amongſt whom was Venutius, they increaſed to two hundred and thirty thouſand. There is no doubt but their forces were more numerous than had ever yet been aſſembled in Britain: and they judiciouſly choſe to make this bold effort for their laws and liberty, at a time when Paulinus Suetonius was engaged in an attempt upon Mona, the ſeat of the Druids, and had withdrawn all his forces into that iſland. ‖ The firſt place Bunduica marched againſt was Camelodunum, who forced it at the firſt onſet, plundered and burnt it. Two days after ſhe took the temple of Claudius by ſtorm. Petilius Cerealis, legate of the ninth legion, was met by the Britons on his march to aſſiſt his countrymen, who cut his legion to pieces, and would have taken him priſoner,

‖ A. D. 61.

had he not made his escape on horseback. Catus the procurator fled to Gaul to avoid the vengeance due to his extortions.

* Bonduica and her army intoxicated with their success, threw aside every sentiment of compassion. Their actions, as related by Dion Cassius, are too shocking to be repeated. Let us pass them over in silence, and if possible bury them in eternal oblivion. No less than eighty thousand Romans are reputed to have fallen as victims to their fury.

Verolam, a free city, not being fortified, fell an easy prey to the Iceni, who having loaded themselves with the plunder, returned home to lay it up in safety.

Paulinus Suetonius, upon the alarm of such

* This celebrated heroine goes in different authors by different names, being called Boadicea, Voadicea, and Bonduica. She is represented as tall, of a remarkable beauty, of a masculine deportment, a commanding severity in her countenance, a loud shrill voice, and having a large quantity of yellow hair that flowed down to her waist. She wore about her neck, a massy golden chain, and a flowing robe of various colours, over which was thrown a mantle of coarser stuff. In her hand she bore a spear, and from a throne of turf harangued her army, recapitulating the wrongs they had suffered, reminding them of the bravery of their ancestors, expatiating upon their late success against their oppressors, exhorting them to the defence of their liberty at the expence of their lives, and animating them with hopes that the gods would give success to their arms. Having thus inflamed their courage, she let loose a hare, which she had concealed in her bosom, and gave thanks aloud for that happy omen, to Adraste the British goddess of war. Dio. l. 62.

ſuch an extraordinary inſurrection, reimbarked his troops, and though all the countries through which he was to paſs, were in arms, marched with ſuprizing expedition to London. This city was at that time famous for the reſidence of merchants, and remarkable for its ſupply of all kinds of proviſions. As he found this place not tenable againſt the enemy, with his ſmall body of forces, he reſolved to quit it, and took ſuch of the inhabitants with him as were able to accompany him, and preferred the preſervation of their lives before the preſervation of their riches. The Belgic Britons preſerving their fidelity to the Romans, notwithſtanding their diſtreſſes, gave him an opportunity of furniſhing himſelf with proviſions and ſupplies. Suetonius having by this means collected an army of ten thouſand men, preſſed forward with unwearied activity, fully reſolved to take the earlieſt opportunity of forcing the Britons to a general engagement.

With this view, he poſted himſelf on a narrow ſpot of ground to prevent his army from being flanked by the enemy; he placed his legionary ſoldiers in the centre, the light armed on each ſide, and the cavalry on his wings, on his rear he had an impenetrable wood, and a large open plain in his front, which rendered it impoſſible for the enemy to draw him into an ambuſh.

Hither the Britons, elated with their late conqueſts, came in order to attack him, and thinking

thinking themselves secure of victory, brought their wives with them, to assist in the plunder. Their number amounted to no less than two hundred and thirty thousand, at the head of which appeared Bonduica, drawn in a chariot with her two daughters, and after having made a speech in which she recited her injuries, spirited them up to revenge, and animated them with hopes of the divine assistance, she lead them on to the charge. The Romans sustained their first attack in their fortress without shrinking, after which they sallied out, and joined battle, which was fought with the greatest perseverence and obstinacy on both sides, but the military discipline and armour of the Romans giving them an advantage over the Britons, they put them to flight, and killed a prodigious number of them in the pursuit. The Britons lost in this day no less than eighty thousand: but not to be disheartened by misfortune, they were preparing for a second engagement, which was laid aside on their receiving advice that Bonduica, not being able to bear the thoughts of a submission, had put an end to her life by * poison.

This unfortunate heroine seems to have been a woman of a most intrepid spirit, and of a peculiar pride and fierceness, amounting even to barbarity. It must be confessed, that she received great injuries, and such injuries, as might

* A. D. 61.

might have provoked a person of a milder disposition; but she had shewn herself, so utterly void of pity and had practiced such cruelties against the Romans, that she drew upon her own subjects in some degree an equal proportion of revenge. Not a Briton received quarter; not even the women who had attended their husbands to the battle: the countries were desolated every where by fire and sword, and the Britons who had neglected to raise corn themselves in hopes of supplying themselves from their enemies magazines, were reduced to famine.

Yet amidst this distress, they remained invincible, they determined not to sue for peace; they resolved rather to die by want, than make the least offer of a submission, the new procurator Julius Classicanus, astonished at their inflexible obstinacy, could not help imputing it to the haughtiness and severity of Suetonius, in consequence of which, he wrote to Rome, that there would be no end of the war, unless Suetonius was recalled. This misunderstanding between the generals, growing to so great a height, as to prove irreconcileable, Julius Classicanus had the satisfaction to find Suetonius displaced and succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus the consul. This new governour, instead of treating the Britons with those severities, which had rendered Suetonius so odious to them, treated them with mildness and humanity, gave their resentments time to cool, and endeared himself so much to them by his conduct

duct, that the * Iceni, and their confederates, who inhabited the inland parts as far as Lincolnshire, returned to their obedience.

His manner of government, though decorated with no new conquests, was so pleasing to the Romans, that on his † return, triumphal honours were decreed him by the senate, and Trebellius Maximus his successor, pursuing the same maxims, enjoyed the same tranquillity, and reconciled the Britons to the laws and customs of the Romans. His own soldiers not finding their account in his inactivity, broke out into tumults, and being encouraged by Roscius Celius, his professed enemy, deserted him at the latter end ‖ of Nero's reign, and forced him to fly for protection to Vitellius, who had at that time assumed the purple in Germany.

Nero being slain, during these transactions, was alternately succeeded by Galba and Otho. Their reigns were short, and during that space of time scarce any alteration happened in the government of this island. As soon as Vitellius had established himself on the imperial throne, he sent over Vectius Bolanus to take upon him the command of the army. Though equally as inactive as Trebellius, he had the good fortune to be better respected by his own soldiers, and as he undertook nothing against the Britons, met with no disturbance from

* A. D. 62. † A. D. 65. ‖ A. D. 69.

from them. Upon Veſpaſian's acceſſion to the throne he was relieved by Petilius Cerealis. It was this emperor's character to employ none but great men. Such was Petilius Cerealis: he was both experienced and enterprizing, and brought with him ſuch a character from his late victories on the continent, that his very name was capable of ſtriking terror in the Britons. Juſt before his arrival, Venutius, who was ſtill at the head of the Brigantes, thinking it a favourable opportunity to avenge himſelf on the Romans for their eſpouſing the party of his wife Cartiſmandua, had perſuaded ſeveral Britiſh nations to join him, and made an attack on the Roman princes: Cerealis burnt with impatience to attack them, defeated them in ſeveral battles, ſome of which were very bloody, gave them no reſpite, and either ravaged or ſubdued this powerful nation, whoſe country was extended from Solway frith to Cheſhire, and from the Tyne to the Humber.

He was ſucceeded by * Julius Frontinus, a perſon who was perfectly ſkilled in the art of war, and author of the four books of ſtratagems: notwithſtanding his coming after ſo illuſtrious a predeceſſor, he ſuſtained his reputation, and made himſelf equally illuſtrious by his conqueſt of that part of the Silures, which inhabited the foreſt of Deane, and the counties of Hereford. On his recall † he was ſucceeded.

* A. D. 72. † A. D. 78.

ceeded by Julius Agricola, a person who might venture to come after him without shame, and was equal to any commander that history can produce.

Though his son-in-law has given us a minute detail of the methods by which he improved his mind, and acquired his military skill, yet, as they are topics of a nature foreign to our history, we shall pass them over in silence: such parts of his character as immediately concern his residence here we cannot forbear to mention, without being accused of injustice.

His political conduct was not in the least inferior to his military prowess. He found the Britons already yielding to the temptations of luxury: he artfully increased these temptations. He introduced the sciences of eloquence, and architecture, and the islanders were so enchanted by the manners and customs of their enemies, that they not only applied themselves to learn the Roman language, but many of them wore the Roman dress. It was a fortunate circumstance to Agricola, that, in the very earliest part of his life, he had served in this island under the command of some of the most eminent Roman governours, particularly Paulinus Suetonius, and Petilius Cerealis, by both of whom he was personally esteemed and distinguished; nor was it less fortunate that he had dedicated that part of his youth to speculative knowledge, and had diligently studied the genius and disposition of our forefathers. He had

had already observed from experience, that the Britons were more difficult to be forced, than induced, to yield. Generosity attracted them into friendship and compliance, severity drove them to obstinacy and rebellion. They were extremely apt to imbibe and imitate the manners of foreign nations: they who were nearest to Gaul assumed the Gallic fashions and behaviour, and, as the Romans were still a politer people, their national customs and elegancies were still more acceptable to the Britons: so that in a few years after Agricola's arrival as a governour, he had both the pride and satisfaction of seeing the Roman porticoes, baths, and other structures of magnificence imitated, and, in a manner, transferred into various parts of Britain. "The ignorant, as Tacitus says, looked upon this as the dawn of humanity: the wise know it to be one of the chief roots of slavery."

But Agricola was by no means absolutely devoted to the arts of peace. He made use of policy only at those seasons, and in those places, where he could not exert his military conduct. He knew that the natural fierceness of the nation was too great and too universal to be entirely reduced by any arts but arms.

The * Ordovices had, a little before his arrival, cut in pieces a body of cavalry quartered on their borders. Although he landed very

* The inhabitans of North-Wales, particularly of Denbighshire and Flintshire.

late in the ſummer, he aſſembled his army and marched againſt them: As they did not think themſelves ſtrong enough to venture a battle, they retired to their mountains, from whence he was determined to diſlodge them. In order to inſpire his men with courage, he expoſed his own perſon, by marching at their head up the aſcent; he attacked the enemy, notwithſtanding their advantageous poſition, with ſo much fury, that they were unable to ſtand with the ſhock, and, having put them to flight, purſued them with great ſlaughter. As he had remembered them to be a perverſe, mutinous, and ungovernable people, he almoſt deſtroyed their whole colony, and, in order to ſtrike the panic of his arms the more deeply, proceeded to Angleſey, with a reſolution to complete the conqueſt of that iſland, which ſerved the enemy as a retreat. This work had been undertaken by Paulinus Suetonius, but was left unfiniſhed upon account of Bonduica's inſurrection.

Mona, as we have obſerved, was originally inhabited by the Druids; was their univerſity, was the reſidence of their pontiff, was a place conſecrated for their religious worſhip, and conſequently was held in a moſt idolatrous veneration by the reſt of the Britons. It was ſeparated from England by a very narrow channel. Suetonius had invaded it with ſome degree of ſucceſs; he had landed his ſoldiers in flat bottomed boats, and had utterly deſtroyed the temples, the groves, and other places of wor-

worship, which the Druids had dedicated to religious murders, and to the sacrifices of human victims.

This expedition being formed with so much precipitation, that he had not had time to provide boats to transport his troops, he ordered his cavalry to swim across the channel, a practice they had been used to. The enemy surprized at this attempt, and not able to make any resistance, * submitted to his arms; and permitted him to take possession of the island, which still retains several marks and monuments of his victory.

The ensuing winter, after this glorious expedition, was employed by Agricola in an administration of justice throughout the several provinces, which he had conquered: he began by a strict reformation in his own household and dependants. He proceeded to a strict disquisition into the abuses that had crept into the conduct and discipline of the army. He ex-

* The only persons that he found here seem to have been the Ordivices; as for the Druids, there is no mention of them; hence it is probable, that they left the island, immediately after the attempt of Suetonius. From hence, it appears, some of them went to Ireland, where they were remarkably numerous, at the time of St. Patric; and others to the isle of Man, to Scotland and the Scotish islands. After the propagation of christianity they were obliged to a third remove, and seem to have fled to Ireland, where several of their monuments still remain; and after having spread in Norway, Denmark, and other Northern countries, were entirely extinguished.

cuſed faults, but never failed to puniſh crimes. He was ſevere, but not cruel. He rather required, than exacted taxes. He regulated the inequality of taxes, and, by preventing all kinds of corruptions, he ſuffered no iniquitous impoſitions to take place. He choſe the obedience flowing from devotion, not the reſpect flowing from fear. In veneration of ſuch virtues, a real attachment to his perſon, and an humble imitation of his conduct, univerſally prevailed. The common ſoldiers became modeſt and regular; his chief officers generous and humane. The Britons found themſelves happy under his government. He was their maſter, not their tyrant: they ſo far complied with his private advice and encouragement, eſpecially as he pretended no command over their particular œconomy, that they began, as we have already hinted, to build houſes, to erect temples, and to conſtruct various edifices of public reſort.

The winter and the ſpring paſſed in works of this kind: early in the * ſummer he took the field. He marched northward, and conquered the Brigantes and Ottodini, who were till this time unknown to the Romans. As he knew he had to do with a crafty and politic people, who would take all advantages reſulting from their ſituation, he made uſe of all the precautions which were neceſſary to prevent a ſurprize. He never entered any of their faſtneſſes,

* A. D. 80.

ſes, without having firſt examined them: and always marched at the head of his troops, that he might not only be ready to extricate them from any unforeſeen danger, but likewiſe might animate them ſo, by his own example, as to make them aſhamed of being overcome with fatigue, or terrified with difficulties. In order to ſecure his conqueſts during his abſence, he built a chain of forts, which, having a communication with each other, not only prevented the enemy from making any diſturbance; but were ſo ſituated, as to be able to quell any inſurrection at its firſt appearance.

When he returned to his winter quarters he reſumed his former plan of politics, and endeavoured to reconcile the antient Britons, not only to the laws, the intereſt, and the power of the Roman empire, but likewiſe to the ſeveral refinements which the Romans had made in the moſt polite, or, rather in the more luxurious branches of their ſtate. As a mark of eſteem, he took a particular care of the education of their children; and, in order to divert their minds from martial exerciſes, had them inſtructed in the liberal arts. To make them fond of their ſtudies, he paid his court to their vanity, by extolling their genius beyond that of the Gauls, and by encouraging them to affect the eloquence of the Romans, after they had made themſelves maſters of their language.

The enſuing ſummer produced freſh laurels for Agricola: he penetrated into Scotland, and advanced as far as the Frith of Tay, one of its chief rivers. In his march he did not meet with the leaſt oppoſition, though his troops had ſuffered greatly from bad weather; on which account he had ſufficient leiſure to build forts in the moſt advantageous ſituations. Tacitus informs us, that not one of the forts he had erected, was ever taken, ſurrendered, or abandoned to the enemy. So great was his ſkill in fortification, ſuch was the ſtrength and perfection of theſe buildings!

The * fourth year of Agricola's government, and the laſt of the reign of Titus, was paſſed in ſecuring the moſt ſouthern parts of Scotland, or what we may call the moſt northern parts of England from invaſions.

The † fifth ſummer was employed differently from any of the former. He embarked his army, indeed, but his deſign was rather to make diſcoveries, than conqueſts. With this ſquadron he ſailed along the coaſts of Scotland, landed in ſeveral places, and viſited the little iſlands that are diſperſed in the Atlantick and Caledonian ſeas.

In this expedition he had a view of Ireland; an iſland which he thought of the utmoſt conſequence to the Roman empire. He repreſented it as ſuch in his letters to Rome; he kept about him, under colour of friendſhip, the chief

* A. D. 81. † A. D. 82.

chief of an Iriſh *Sept*; he had computed that the conqueſt might be effected with ten thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; and quartered his forces in that part of Britain which is oppoſite to the Iriſh coaſts: but all his great deſigns were fruſtrated: Domitian reigned.

The remaining years of Agricola's government were paſſed much in the ſame manner as the former: in ſkirmiſhes by land, and expeditions by ſea in ſummer; but in buildings and adminiſtrations of juſtice during the other ſeaſons. In moſt places, as ſoon as he appeared, he conquered: his reputation and fame ſeem to have been as effectual as his arms, and indeed the records of hiſtory have ſcarce produced a greater man. As his operations were, for the remaining part of his government, confined to Scotland, we paſs them over as not ſo properly belonging to the hiſtory of England: though it muſt be acknowledged, that they ſet both his character and that of the Caledonians in a glorious point of light; and we muſt at the ſame time confeſs, that the hiſtory of the ſouthern parts are involved in ſuch obſcurity, that we cannot with any certainty, fill up this chaſm. Britain, which was, till this general's time, only thought to be an iſland, was by him found to be one really; he having ſailed round it himſelf.

Domitian, who was of an envious and ſuſpicious temper, grew jealous of his proprætor's cha-

character; but the timidity and hypocrisy of his nature hindered him from an open, or direct declaration of his envy. He suffered Agricola therefore to hold his government for some years, and recalled him under a pretence, that the province of Syria had been destined to him. Agricola surrendered up his command to Salustius Lucullus his successor, who was put to * death by the same emperor, for giving his name to a new kind of lance, which he had invented.

The Caledonians, a brave and unconquered people, lost no opportunities, of driving back the Romans into the more southern parts of Britain. They were led on by Galgacus, a North-Briton, of eminent birth and remarkable valour, who had made an obstinate resistance even against Agricola. For their honour be it spoken, they were not in the least infected with the contagious habits introduced into South-Britain. The force of numbers under Agricola had compelled them to take refuge amidst the Grampian mountains; but as soon as Agricola was departed, they came forward in their native valour; and, by their example and conduct, animated the Britons to resume the spirit of their ancestors, and to join in the common cause of extirpating the Romans out of the kingdom. The execution of so great a work could only be the effect of time.

* A. D. 87.

time.* Roman colonies had been planted; intermarriages had been made; fortreſſes had been built; and, what was the general impediment, luxury had been eſtabliſhed, as ſo many preventive bulwarks againſt all eſſays of liberty and national prerogative; yet, if we can gather any degree of truth from the ſlight and inconſiſtent accounts of theſe times, the Britons and Caledonians, during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, had made ſome important efforts towards the principal deſign for which they had aſſociated. They had demoliſhed ſome part of Agricola's wall, which he built in his ſecond expedition on the Iſthmus between Cluyd and Forth.

The

* "About this time, according to Geoffry, and not before died Arviragus, about the end of Domitian's reign; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Marius, Manius, or Meyrig, as he is called by the Britiſh authors. He is likewiſe mentioned by William of Malmſbury long before Geoffry wrote." *Milton's Hiſtory*. The reality of ſuch a prince as Arviragus, as well as the reality of his martial actions, though not mentioned by the Roman hiſtorians, is demonſtrable from Juvenal, who repreſents him as being formidable to the Romans, and a proper object for the conqueſt of the emperor. The ſuppoſed epitomizer of Geoffry, deſcribes him as a perſon of an open and attractive countenance, having black eyes, and of a moderate ſtature; ſcarce to be equalled by any for his fierceneſs in the field; ſcarce to equalled by any for his mildneſs in peace: of temper a of mind generally turned to wit and good nature, and of a liberality which no one could ſurpaſs. Geoff. Mon. Hiſt. Reg. Lib. iv. cap. 16. Pont. Virun. Brit. Hiſt. Lib. iv.

The emperor, in order to quell this insurrection, dispatched * Julius Severus, a commander of great reputation, but an insurrection happening at the same time in Syria, he was recalled before he could undertake any thing of consequence.

After this, the Roman general Lucius Antonius had been dangerously wounded, and his troops had been repulsed in a battle against the Caledonians. This was a circumstance that required immediate remedy; Priscus Luscinius was sent over; and followed soon after by the emperor himself. † At his first coming the Caledonians retired into their mountains; and, in order to prevent their incursions for the future, relinquished the line of forts, formed by Agricola between the Cluyd and the Forth, as too remote from the main body of the Roman forces, and formed a rampart, or wall of earth, or turf, between the Tyne and Solway Frith, eighty miles in length. Having thus settled affairs in Britain, and reformed many abuses, he returned to Rome; where he was honoured with the title of *Restorer of Britain*, as appears from his coins.

As soon as the Britons heard of his death, the Scotch Brigantes, thinking this a favourable circumstance of entering upon the Roman territories, passed the wall of Agricola, but

* A. D. 111.

† Some place this circumstance in A. D. 120, and others in A. D. 121.

but were met by Lolius * Urbicus, in the space between these two walls, who easily suppressed this insurrection; and having driven the Brigantes more northward, confined them by another wall, either between the Friths of Cluyd and Forth, where Agricola had erected his, or, as Camden conjectures, between Brampton in Cumberland and the river Esk. †

Britain from this time to the death of ‡ Titus Antoninus, seems to have enjoyed the same tranquillity, which all historians agree, reigned over the whole empire.

As changes of government are generally favourable to the attempts of such as propose to embroil the affairs of a country; the unconquered Britons snatched the present opportunity as such, and the emperor Aurelius sent over ‡ Calpurnius Agricola to quel them. Whether any war broke out either then between the two armies, or on the § death of ‖ Verus, is uncertain; but if there did, it must have been very inconsiderable, as no historians have mentioned it; and Capitolinus speaks of it not as a fact, but only as a thing that was apprehended.

The situation of affairs was very much altered by the death of Marcus Aurelius. * He

was

* A. D. 140; but according to *Alford* in A. D. 142.
† A. D. 161. ‡ A. 162. § A. D. 170. ‖ A. D. 180.

was ſucceeded by his ſon Commodus, who was more fit for the ſon of a gladiator than an emperor: he was not only cruel, but lewd, capable of the moſt enormous iniquities, immerſed in all manner of vices, extravagantly laviſh of the public treaſure, and intirely negligent of the affairs of the empire: the only perſons he employed in his government, were ſuch as gave moſt for their places; and the only recommendation any perſon had for his favour was, to be a partner in his vices: hence it followed, that his chief poſts were occupied either by ſuch as were inſtrumental to his pleaſures, or, ſuch, as having paid exorbitant prices for their places, fleeced thoſe that were ſubject to them, in order to reimburſe their expences. As vice without allays, muſt always procure contempt, it is no wonder that his commanders were contemned by thoſe they governed, that the people were diſcontented under their adminiſtration, that his ſoldiers were mutinous, and the Caledonians willing to embrace this opportunity of attacking the Roman province in this iſland. They aſſembled a large body of troops, broke through Antonius's wall, cut off a Roman general and all his army, and made terrible ravages over all the neighbouring countries. In the midſt of this diſtreſs Commodus ſent over **Ulpilius Marcellus, a perſon worthy of the**

com-

command in so critical a juncture. He soon restored his troops to their ancient discipline by his example and severity; and when they were thus prepared, lead them against ‡ the Caledonians, whom they defeated in several engagements, with such prodigious slaughter that they were obliged to remain quiet during the remainder of this emperor's reign. The glory of this expedition had like to have cost Marcellus his life; it made the emperor both jealous and envious, and though he was for some secret reasons prevailed on to lay aside his resolution of putting him to death, yet he recalled him; and at the same time assumed the title of Britannicus on account of Marcellus's victory.

When the emperor removed Marcellus, it is probable he sold the government of this island to the best bidder; and as such purchasers generally give in proportion to their want of merit, it is natural to suppose that the person who bid the most, was the least deserving. Be that as it will, a mutiny broke out among the soldiers, which was aimed against Perennis the commander of the Pretorian bands, and a great favourite of the emperor. A deputation of no less than 1500 soldiers was sent to Rome, to lodge complaints against his administration: they accused him of removing the senators from the command, in order to

‡ A. D. 183.

fill up their posts with persons of the equestrian order; a practice that was against the very constitution of the Romans. This complaint, backed with the presence of so many remonstrants, had such an effect on the emperor, that he resolved to deliver up his favourite as a sacrifice to their rage, and Perennis was, after enduring a thousand outrages, together with his wife, his sister, * and his two sons, torn in pieces by the pretorian bands, which he had commanded.

Helvius Pertinax, who was afterwards emperour, was sent in order to quell these disturbances, and bring the soldiers to their duty. But, though he was a person of great talents, he found the attempt almost impracticable. On his first arrival, the Romans now tired of the reign of Commodus, offered him the sovereignty; but he rejecting their offer with disdain, and proceeding with too great severity against the mutineers, exasperated them so highly, that one of the legions openly revolted, a tumult ensued, a great deal of blood was spilt, and Pertinax himself was left for dead upon the spot. Notwithstanding this miscarriage in the beginning, he surmounted all obstacles, brought the army at last to submit, and restored tranquillity to his province; yet, having proceeded to such severity in punishing the mutineers, that he raised an unconquerable ill-will and hatred among the soldiery,

* A. D. 186.

ſoldiery, he was † ſometime after recalled at his own requeſt, and ſucceeded by Claudius Albinus.

This general was a man eminent for his birth and his courage: he had acquired great reputation in Gaul, and, after his coming into Britain, had the offer of wearing the purple made him from Commodus himſelf. But conſidering how odious Commodus was to the Romans, and fearing he might be involved himſelf in the ſame fate, he prophetically foreſaw was awaiting him, prudently rejected the offer, ſaying, "that Commodus had only pitched upon him to periſh along with him, or at leaſt to make him fall a victim to his own jealouſy." Sometime after a report being ſpread, that the emperour was dead, he made a ſpeech to the army, and declared for the power of the ſenate againſt that of an emperour; which, being afterwards related to Commodus, gave him ſo much offence, that he ſent orders to him to reſign his government immediately to Severus.

But Commodus himſelf being poiſoned by his concubine Martia about this time, Albinus ſtill retained his government, refuſing to ſurrender it to Severus. Pertinax, who ſucceeded Commodus, is ſuppoſed to have continued Albinus in his command. As Pertinax was ſoon * afterwards murdered by the

† A. D. 189. * A. D. 193.

ſoldiers, Didius Julianus, who is ſaid have inſtigated them to this crime, ſucceeded to the empire, having bought the dignity with a ſum of money agreed upon, to be given to each ſoldier.

The death of Pertinax, who was beloved by the legions, the preſumption of the prætorian band who had raiſed Didius Julianus to the purple without their knowledge or conſent, and the perſonal character of the emperour himſelf, which rendered him contemptible in their eyes, put them upon deſiring their commanders to aſſume the purple. Thus Caius Piſcennius Niger was declared emperour in the eaſt, and Septimius Severus in Illyria. Severus had a great advantage over his competitor in being ſo near the capital of the empire; whither he marched without delay, and was acknowledged by the ſenate, who, on his arrival, had given orders for putting Didius Julianus to death. Severus not thinking himſelf ſafe on the throne while Niger lived, and Albinus had ſuch influence over the legions in Britain; and knowing himſelf too weak to contend with both, he reſolved to keep fair with Albinus for the preſent, and, in order to render him quiet, cajoled him with fair promiſes of ſharing the empire with him, permitted him to wear the badges of his aſſociate, cauſed ſtatutes to be erected, and money coined with his image, and made the ſenate ratify what he had done by a decree. Having now only Niger to contend with, he turned his arms

againſt

againſt him, defeated, and ſlew him. * As he was ſtill under ſome apprehenſions from Albinus, he thought the ſafeſt way to get rid of him, would be to take him off by poiſon. For this purpoſe, he diſpatched ſome aſſaſſins to Britain; but Albinus being previouſly apprized of their deſign, extorted a confeſſion of their guilt by the wrack, and being convinced of Severus's treachery, aſſumed the title of Ceſar and Auguſtus, and declared war againſt him.

The preparations made on both ſides were proportionable to the object which they contended for; as for Severus, conſcious of his own ſtrength, he croſſed over into Gaul; and being beloved by the ſoldiers, and of a nobler family than his adverſary, gained the armies on the Rhine over to his party. The two competitors met in a large plain between Trevoux and Lyons, and, after a terrible battle, in which Albinus with his Britiſh forces had at firſt the advantage, but were at laſt routed, Severus was * victor, and Albinus fell upon his own ſword in deſpair.

Severus, † rendered ſole maſter of the empire by this action, diſpatched Virius Lupus, in the quality of proprætor into Britain, to oppoſe any attempt that the Caledonians might make on the Roman province there, which was then in a weak condition, on account of

* A. D. 194. † A. D. 197.

the draughts that Albinus had made when he left the country. The emperour, who ſtaid himſelf in Gaul, divided the government of Britons, in this interval, into two provinces, thinking by this diviſion of power to ſecure himſelf in the throne; and to prevent any perſon from attempting to diſturb the public quiet for the future. The ſouthern part of the iſland was given to Heraclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus. Lupus found, on his arrival, that the Meætæ had united their forces to the Caledonians, and made incurſions into the Roman province: not being ſtrong enough to engage them, he thought the moſt prudent way would be to buy a peace, which he could not command, and artfully concealed the weakneſs of his army, and the ſubtilty of his policy, under the colour of redeeming ſome captives the enemy had in their hands.

This peace remained inviolated for ſeveral years, * when the northern Britons, tired of a ſtate of inactivity, or ſtimulated by wants which they could not ſupply any other way but by rapine, made a ſecond irruption into the Roman province, but were defeated by the Roman generals. Not to be daunted by ill ſucceſs, or intimidated by dangers, the Caledonians and Meætæ once more renewed their incurſions, and made ſuch ravages, that Virius

* A. D. 207.

Virius Lupus, thinking the forces he had with him insufficient to stem the torrent, sent to Severus for a reinforcement, who, looking on Britain as the most considerable province belonging to the Roman empire, determined to come over with the army.

Severus had two sons, Bassianus, surnamed Caracalla and Geta. The luxuries of Rome had so far enervated both these youths, the eldest especially, that they were unworthy of such a father. To exercise this army, and to withdraw his sons from a scene of vice and iniquity, the emperour was glad to embrace the opportunity of going to Britain. He was at this time old, infirm, and much afflicted with the gout; but the strength of his spirit was superior to the strength of his body; wherever his army marched, he appeared at the head of it on horseback, or in his chariot, and sometimes, when his distemper was most violent, in his litter.

The arrival of an emperour, terrible by his military skill, in which he had no equal, by his inflexible severity in punishing injuries, and the fame of his mighty preparations, made such an impression on the Caledonians, that they sent embassadours to sue for peace; but it was too late. The emperour was determined to reduce them effectually; and that he might not meet with any diversion from the southern parts of this island, left his son Geta with

with a body of forces in those parts. His other son was to make the campaign with him.

Severus's progress into Caledonia was at the utmost hazard, and even with the destruction of a considerable part of his army. The country was mountainous, woody and full of marshes; so that his forces underwent excessive fatigue, without taking a fortress; and excessive danger, without seeing an enemy. They had forests to cut down, mountains to level, morasses to drain, and bridges to build: and it is computed that no less than * fifteen thousand soldiers were sacrificed in these undertakings. No distresses could alarm, no difficulties could deter Severus; he still continued his enterprize; he was unalterably resolved to march through all Caledonia, and advanced almost to the very extremity of the island; the Caledonians were obliged at length to submit, and a peace was made on condition of their delivering up their arms. When the terms of this alliance were ratified, Severus returned back with his forces to York, and assumed the title of Britannicus Maximus, and ordered a medal to be struck on the occasion, whereon he is stiled *Fundator Pacis*, or the founder of peace.

As he detested idleness in the soldiers, he employed them in repairing and making additions to Adrian's wall: which was by that emperor built with turf, but by him † erected with stones, and finished in such a manner, as to be considered no small glory to his reign.

The

* A.D. 208. † A.D. 209.

The bodily infirmities of Severus now increaſed ſo faſt, that he was very often thought to be near expiring; the Meætæ who were informed of his illneſs, having been forced, on the peace, to give up a great part of their country, having been treated with inſolence and cruelty by Caracalla, whom Severus had intruſted with the command, and encouraged by the ſure proſpect they had of the irreconcileable enmity of his ſons, and of being joined by the Caledonians, took up arms to recover their antient poſſeſſions. This breach of faith ſo highly exaſperated Severus, that he was determined to reſent it, not only with vigour, but likewiſe with inhumanity. He delivered his orders to his army, in theſe lines from Homer:

" Not one of all the race, nor ſex, nor age
" Shall ſave a Trojan from our boundleſs rage;
" Ilion ſhall periſh whole, and bury all
" Her babes, her infants at the breaſt ſhall
" fall." Pope's Iliad. B. vi. v. 71.

But he lived not to ſee his orders executed; his diſtemper was his moſt powerful enemy, it conquered him when he was almoſt ſixty ſeven years of age, and when he had reigned three years in Britain.

He died at * York, and his funeral obſequies were ſolemnized with a pomp and magnificence ſuitable to the † character of Severus, and the grandeur of the people of Rome.

* Feb. 4. A. D. 211.

† Lord Coke obſerves, that, " the virtues of this emperor

As

As he bequeathed his empire to both his ſons in conjunction, the ſoldiers took the oath of fidelity to both the Brothers.

Being each of them inferior in every reſpect to their father, and tired with reſiding in a land not yet refined enough for perſons of their delicacy, they made a peace with the Meætæ and Caledonians, and returned to Rome, carrying with them their father's aſhes, which were repoſited in the Mauſoleum of Adrian. In this city Caracalla found means to gratify his furious ambition, and got his brother Geta to be aſſaſſinated. A wretch, who had more than once attempted the life of his parent, muſt certainly be deaf to all the calls of affection, and ready

for were great, but not without alloy. As a private man, he was covetous; as a commander he was too ſuſceptible of revenge. Wherever he conquered, he ruined: a cruel diſpoſition, from which the Scots had a very narrow eſcape! on the other hand his ſpirit was dauntleſs, and ſuperior, not only to danger, but fatigue: he defied laſſitude, and was never wearied by the moſt minute enquiry into every article of his government. To his perſonal friends he was extremely grateful, to his perſonal enemies, he was contemptuouſly diſdainful: he was moderate in his expences, as an emperor, but magnificent, if not profuſe, in publick buildings of every kind. He heard cauſes not only with exactneſs, but with patience: he entered the courts of juſtice by break of day, and he ſtaid there till noon. His abilities were excellent, and they were improved by learning. He had more than the tenderneſs of a father; he forgave Caracalla's frequent attacks upon his life; he was careful in the education of his ſons, and, at his death, he jointly bequeathed to them his empire."

ready to imbrue his hands, as Caracalla was, in the blood of his * brother.

From the departure of these two princes, there is a great chasm in our history † for several years. The silence of the Roman historians may perhaps be accounted for from the supposition of the internal quiet of the kingdom, it being their favourite study to describe the devastations of war, and to omit all the gentle and humane blessings of peace. Yet notwithstanding we have some faint glimmerings of historic truth, which though they do not satisfy our curiosity are enough to restrain our wishes.

From inscriptions it appears, that in the reign of Gordian III. ‡ Mæcilius Fuscus commanded in this island, and repaired the barracks and arsenals which had fallen to decay. Two years after § Cneius Lucilianus the proprætor built a bath, together with an exchange or portico. He was succeeded by ‖ Nonius Philippus, as appears from a votive inscription discovered at Old Carlile.

From hence to the time of Publius Licinius Gallienus, we have no account of what passed in this island. In this emperor's reign, we have an account that the troops employed in the north were commanded by Desiderius Ælianus; but that there was such a general revolt among the Roman troops, that no less than thirty tyrants sprung up on this occasion;

* A. D. 211. † A. D. 242. ‡ A. D. 239.
§ A. D. 241. ‖ A. D. 242.

occaſion: Whence Porphyry and Gildas take occaſion to ſay that this iſland was very fruitful in tyrants. Among ſuch as declared for themſelves in theſe parts, appear no leſs than ſix, namely, Lollianus, Victorianus, Poſthumus the elder and younger, Tetricus, with Marius. The number of coins found in the neighbourhood of Colcheſter confirm this * aſſertion.

The peace of this iſland might perhaps have been reſtored by Marcus Aurelius Flavius Claudius, the ſucceſſor of Gallienus, had he not been ſurprized by death amidſt his preparations for reducing Tetricus, who at that time ruled the eaſtern provinces, and in all probability was in poſſeſſion of this iſland.

From this * time we are acquainted with no occurrencies relating to Britain, till the reign of Probus, excepting that Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine the great, was ſent hither by Aurelian, to eſtabliſh his authority in theſe parts; that Aurelian was ſucceeded by Tacitus, and that after a ſhort reign, death made way for the ſucceſſion of Probus. † In this emperour's reign the purple was aſſumed by Proculus and Bonoſus; the latter of which is ſaid to have been a Briton by birth, but was educated in Spain; after a long and bloody fight, he was defeated by Probus, and hanged himſelf. ‡

This

* A. D. 267. † A. D. 282.

‡ Bonoſus was remarkably given to intemperance in drinking

This was not the only diſturbance that happened in this iſland during the reign of Probus: another proprætor named Cornelius Lælius, who was recommended by Victorinus Maurus, prime miniſter and general in chief to Probus, renounced his allegiance; Victorinus, being upbraided with his diſloyalty, came haſtily into Britain to inform himſelf of the truth of the emperour's charge, but finding that his conduct had not been miſrepreſented, though he was affectionately received by the rebellious proprætor, he ordered him to be aſſaſſinated, and by that means ſuppreſſed his inſurrection.

* Carus, who ſucceeded to the imperial purple, aſſociated his two ſons Carinus and Numerianus, and going againſt the Perſians, left Carinus the command of Britain and the Weſtern provinces, but his government which was characteriſed by oppreſſions, was obliged to give way to the fortune of a brave and active prince named Diocletian, who admitted Maximian to a ſhare of the empire.

Diocletian was a man of low birth, and had paſſed through many conſiderable offices, before he was raiſed to the empire; he had

drinking, but in his excuſe it is obſerved, that he was moſt fit for buſineſs when diſguiſed by liquor: however that be, we are told that when he was found hanging, as related above, by a perſon of more wit than humanity, he "ſaid that there hung a *Tankard*, not a man."

* A. D. 283.

acquired a high reputation as a ſoldier, and had acquitted himſelf with great political ſagacity in the civil parts of government: his perſonal accompliſhments ſeemed ſo ſuitable to the imperial dignity, that, in a time of leſs univerſal warfare and confuſion, he might, ſingly, have ſuſtained the weight of government with honour to himſelf, and with advantage to the commonwealth. In the preſent juncture, the hands of a Briareus were ſcarce too many to hold the reins of the Roman empire; conſequently Diocletian ſhewed great prudence in making uſe of the aſſiſtance of a partner in the throne. Maximian, his adopted ſon, did not indeed poſſeſs all the accompliſhments of Diocletian; but he had courage and activity, which were of greater uſe to the public, than virtues more delicately illuſtrious, and more morally refined.

Anarchy and confuſion, at this time, prevailed throughout the world. The continent was filled with rebels; the ſea was covered with pirates. In the laſt claſs were the Franks and Saxons, two nations of Germany, who gave continual annoyance to the * coaſts of Normandy, Picardy, and Bretagne. Maximian, who poſſeſſed the weſtern parts of the empire, in order to prevent the depredations of theſe corſairs, and to awe and ſubdue the maritime robbers of every kind, made choice of Carauſius to ſcour the ſeas, whoſe ſtation was

* A. D. 236, by ſome A. D. 288.

was generally near Boulogne:* A ſtation near enough to England to render him acquainted with its coaſts, its ports, and its inhabitants. Moſt writers ſay, that he was a † Menapian by birth, but certain Scotch hiſtorians claim him for their countrymen, and with great appearance of truth. He was a man of mean deſcent, but of high ambition; he found himſelf at the head of a great fleet, and he was wiſe enough to know the weight, power, and dignity of his office; he reſolved therefore to extend the limits of his authority in ſuch a manner, as to be the indiſputable ſovereign of the ſeas; and, from thence, to ſtretch his influence ſo effectually, as to be a nominal, and acknowledged emperor of Rome: his methods, in purſuance of his deſign, were bold, if not profligate; 'tis true, he diſcharged his duty with equal courage and conduct, and, as the Roman hiſtorians ſay, not ſo honourably as he ought: he began, if we believe them,

* Dr. Campbel obſerves, in his naval hiſtory, p. 18. that Caraufius deſerves to be remembered in our hiſtory: ſince how bad ſoever his title might be, he made a good prince to the Britons, and carried the maritime power of this country ſo high, as not only to vindicate his own independency, but alſo to ſtrike a terror into the whole Roman empire: it is true, adds this elegant writer, many hiſtorians treat him as an uſurper, a thing that appears a little hard, ſince thoſe they ſtill call emperours had no other title than what they derived from fighting on land, which ſerves to afford him ſome colour of right, in virtue of his power by ſea.

† The Manapii were a people of lower Germany.

with a breach of truſt; he ſeized great numbers of prizes, and took great numbers of priſoners; but accounted to himſelf alone, not to his imperial maſters, for the profits of his captures; at firſt, inſtead of chaſtizing the pirates, he too frequently admitted them to a compoſition; and finding this policy diſcovered, he had recourſe to another; he permitted the Franks, Saxons, or any other nation, to practice indiſcriminately all kinds of violence and enrich themſelves by the plunder they got on the Gallic coaſt; but in their return homewards, he intercepted their veſſels, and applied to his own uſe the riches and plunder which they contained.

Such proceedings juſtly alarmed the reigning emperours, and Maximian commiſſioned a perſon to aſſaſſinate him; but this expedient did not prevail, and inſtead of preventing his ſetting up for himſelf, forced him to do it ſooner than he otherwiſe would. He had foreſeen his danger, and had already ſecured to himſelf ſuch an intereſt among the officers of his fleet, that the whole navy was determined to obey him.

* He had moſt judiciouſly fixed his eye upon Britain, as a ſure place of refuge and ſecurity,

* Lord Cork, from whom we have tranſplanted many a beauteous paragraph into this hiſtory, obſerves on this occaſion, "A mariner can only command mariners; the element is formed for the people, or rather the people, like the fiſh, are

rity, whenever the Romans ſhould be in purſuit of him: ſo that as ſoon as he heard, that he had been publickly proclaimed a traitor, he made himſelf * maſter of Boulogne, and immediately ſailed from thence, with his whole fleet to the Britiſh coaſt.

The ſteps he had previouſly taken, and the private correſpondence which he had, of late, carried on with the Britons, rendered his arrival in the iſland not only eaſy, but joyful. The people came out beyond their ſhore to meet him, and as ſoon as he was landed, the Roman † legion, and the auxiliary troops that had been quartered within the kingdom, acknowledged, and proclaimed him emperor.

From Bologne and the adjacent coaſts, he ſo harraſſed Gaul, Italy, and Spain, that Maxi-

are formed for the element. Had Caraufius been a land officer, all his ſchemes muſt have proved abortive: but from thoſe particulars of his life, which have reached our times, he appears to have been as ſucceſsful, as he was wicked, as bold as he was powerful and as fit to command, as he was ready to execute. It is to him we owe the firſt dawnings of our naval power: a power, which has ſince appeared in all its meridian glory.—From his conduct we were apprized of our natural ſtrength as an iſland; a ſtrength that cannot fail us, if properly exerted, to the end of the world.

* A. D. 287.

† There was but one quartered in Britain at this time. The legions acknowledging Caraufius, made him maſter of all the iſland as far north as Antonius's wall, which, according to Nennius, he repaired, and added ſeven new caſtles to the fortifications.

mian, however averse he might be to such a partner, was compelled to purchase peace by owning Carausius, emperor in Britain. *

Carausius was not only a nominal emperour of Rome, but he personally established himself a real monarch of Britain; however he acquired the empire, it is universally acknowledged that he held it very worthily. During his administration our ancestors were entirely freed from their obedience to the Roman empire, and were subject only to the laws and government of their own sovereign. Curiosity would lead us to enquire what were the political institutes of a person who was generally brand-

* There are still extant some of his coins, having, on one side his head with this inscription, IMP. CARAUSIUS. P. F. AUG. on the reverse, the portraiture of two emperors joining hands, alluding particularly to the peace with Maximian. Besides there are some medals of Diocletian, Maximian, and Carausius, having on the reverse PROVIDENTIA AUGGG, and PAX AUGGG, which shew that there were three emperors, at that time, at peace with one another. Lord Cork, from whose essays we have borrowed many embellishments, remarks on this circumstance, that, "a triumvirate of emperors was an unusual phenomenon: but the state of the continent was so very tottering and precarious, that neither Diocletian nor Maximian were in any degree strong enough to dismantle the atchievements of Carausius. Some faint preparations of resistance were attempted by Maximian; but necessity compelled the Romans soon to withdraw hostilities, and to enter into articles of peace; by which inglorious treaty, this proclaimed pirate was declared Pius; this maritime robber was acknowledged Felix; and this avowed usurper was firnamed Augustus.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

Britons bordering on ye Picts.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

branded as a pirate. Some civil policy must have been regularly maintained; but no certain records of it are to be discovered. In general, we know that he governed the Britons with great justice and equity, maintained the dominion of the seas against all competitors, and when the Scots and Picts began to make incursions, he made war upon them, beat them in many engagements, and recovered all that the Romans ever held in Britain. When he had thus signalized his courage against the northern nations, so as to convince them he was a dangerous enemy, he made peace with them, wisely foreseeing, that he might, sometime or other, stand in need of their assistance, against the Roman emperours, who only waited a favourble opportunity of attacking him to advantage. He took care likewise to increase his fleet, and politickly negotiated a treaty with the Franks, and some nations seated on the Thracian Bosphorus who were become famous for their power at sea, whereby it was agreed, that they should send a strong fleet through the streights, to act in conjunction with his own navy against the Romans.

The Romans, justly alarmed at this formidable alliance, which deprived them of any safe passage by sea, began to arm in their own defence. The empire was now in the hands of Maximian Galerus and Constantius Chlorus, the adopted sons of the late emperour. They jointly applied themselves to raise forces by sea and

and land. Maximian undertook to march with an army into the territory poſſeſſed by the enemy in Gaul, while the other fitted out a fleet of a thouſand ſail, from the magazines on the Rhine. While this was doing, Conſtantius beſieged Carauſius in Bulloigne, who, having the ſea open, defended himſelf without much trouble, and thereby convinced his enemies, that, while he held this advantage, their ſiege would be to no purpoſe. This put Conſtantius on contriving to block up the port, which he did by a bank of ſtone. Carauſius had now no other reſource, but that of cutting his way through the Roman camp. This he effected with a few gallant ſoldiers, in a dark night, and, embarking in a ſmall ſhip, croſſed over to Britain, where he had both a ſtrong fleet and a very powerful army.

He quickly repented of this falſe ſtep, when he was informed, that, the very night after his departure, the ſea had waſhed away all the works of the Romans, and had left the port open. Conſtantius had not a fleet ſtrong enough to invade him in this aſſylum: however, he collected all the ſhips he could from every part of his dominions; and having ſtationed ſtrong ſquadrons on the coaſt of Britain, Spain, and Gaul, to prevent Carauſius from joining his allies, he ſailed himſelf with the reſt of the fleet through the ſtreights, to meet the Franks, whom he defeated ſo abſolutley, and purſued his victory ſo cloſely, that there was not

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a man of them left: the other nations in this confederacy met with a fate ſomewhat ſimilar, being obliged to ſurrender up their arms; and were afterwards tranſplanted to countries too remote to obſtruct his enterprize againſt Britain.

In the mean time, Carauſius did all he could to put this iſland into a proper poſture for defence: but in the midſt of his preparations was perfidiouſly § murdered by Alectus, a conſiderable officer in his army, and his intimate friend.

Alectus ſeized the government; but his deſire of graſping the ſovereignty, was greater than his power of maintaining it: though he kept the forces and dominion, he had neither the capacity nor the fortune of his predeceſſor. He was for ſome time ſuperior to the Romans at ſea; but he employed that ſuperiority rather as a pirate, than a prince. As his ſquadrons plundered the adjacent coaſts of Gaul, and interrupted the trade of the Roman provinces; it gave Conſtantius great uneaſineſs: but he was unable at preſent to prevent it. When he was able to fight Alectus by ſea, he ſailed from the coaſt of Gaul to that of Britain. Alectus lay then at the Iſle of Wight with a navy no ways inferior to that of Conſtantius. On the firſt intelligence of the ſailing of the Roman fleet, he ſtood to ſea, in order to intercept it: but Conſtantius eluded his vigilance, by

§ A. D. 293, but by ſome in A. D. 294.

by means of a fog passed him, and landed safely in this island. From a foresight that the British ships would certainly beat his in a sea-fight; and as a sure presage that he was determined upon conquest, or death, he ordered his ships to be burnt, as soon as he had landed.

The Britons were pleased with the nobleness of this action, and, as they were much oppressed by their present tyrant, resorted in great numbers to the standard of Constantine, and voluntarily enlisted themselves into his service.

Allectus quickly returned to Britain; and put himself at the head of a small body of troops; but perceiving, that the minds of the people were alienated from him, and had joined the enemy in such great numbers, that he was inferior to them on land, though superior to them at sea, he grew distracted, rashly engaged with Asclepiodotus, who commanded a party of the Roman troops, was routed, threw away his purple robe, and, after making a desperate defence, was slain. His auxiliaries consisted chiefly of Franks, and such of them as had escaped the furies of the Romans retired to London, desperately determined to pillage that city, and immediately to sail away with their plunder. But this design was frustrated at the very moment of its execution, by a reinforcement of Romans, which consisted of that part of the army, severed

vered by the fog abovementioned, from the grand fleet at sea: they landed at this important crisis at the mouth of the Thames, and entered the city immediately after the Franks. A battle ensued, in which these foreigners were defeated and put almost every one to the sword; their commander, named Gallus, endeavouring to save himself by flight, was pushed into a little brook and drowned, called from thence in the British tongue, Nant Gall, but by the Saxons, Walbrook.

Constantius, having thus avenged himself of his enemies, had now a fair field for the display of his clemency and justice: he gave a general pardon to those that had been concerned in the revolt; restored to the proprietors all that had been taken from them, even by his own soldiers; subdued some northern notions that had asserted their independency during these troubles; opened the sea, restored commerce, and, instead of being looked on as an invader, was esteemed by all the Britons as their deliverer.

During the usurpation of Carausius, the arts were cultivated, the country was embellished with several noble structures, and the city of London had become considerable for its extent, beauty and riches: it is no wonder therefore that Constantius thought Britain worthy of his residence. He might indeed have been further influenced by his passion for the celebrated Helena, the mother of Constantine,

ſtantine, a native of Colcheſter, or, according to other authors, king of the Cumbrian Britains, inhabiting between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus.

Though he had, for reaſons of ſtate, been obliged to divorce her; yet ſhe ſtill retained a conſiderable place in his affections. She was certainly a woman of extraordinary accompliſhments, her public ſpirit ſhewed itſelf in ſeveral works carried on at her own expence; her liberality was ſo great, that ſhe attracted the love and veneration of the Britons: and could ſhe fail of attracting the love of Conſtantius? No; her preſence was the only thing he wanted to complete his happineſs; and his preſence ſeemed to be the only thing the Britons ſtood in need of to complete theirs. His adminiſtration, which ſhewed great addreſs and humanity, endeared him to this grateful people, and when ‖ he died at York, the place of his late reſidence, he left them concerned at his loſs.

His ſon Conſtantine, ſurnamed the great, no ſooner heard of his father's indiſpoſition, than he artfully eſcaped from Rome, where he was detained by the jealouſy of the other emperours. He arrived at York time enough to perform the laſt offices to his father, who declared him his ſucceſſor, a nomination ſo agreeable to the army, that they declared him em-

‖ A. D. 306.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Picts Male & Female.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

emperour immediately after his father's decease.

On his first accession to the throne, he repelled the Scots and Picts, who, in the beginning of his reign, or just before the death of his father, had made several rapacious incursions into the Roman provinces. At this time, according to Sigonius, he went to Gaul, where he defeated the Franks who were in arms, and took Asaracus and Regasius, two of their kings, prisoners. ‡ Four years after this victory, he returned again to Britain, where he made several alterations both in the church and state to the advantage of this nation. He had already publickly professed himself a christian, after having been one some time in private. His declaration on this subject seems to have been promoted by the ardour of the British troops, most of whom were christians.

The example of a sovereign has generally a powerful influence on a people. Constantine, by his public declaration of the christian faith, gave a mortal blow to idolatry, and the Flamines and Druids melted away by the cross of Christ like waxen images before the sun. His character was such as would have done honour to any religion. He possessed the talents of a Julius, and the liberality of a Titus: he had an enterprizing genius that put him upon great undertakings, and a capacity that enabled him

‡ A. D. 3011.

to accompliſh every thing he undertook. He was affable, polite, equitable, humane, and obliging even to an exceſs, no perſon having ever aſked his aſſiſtance in vain, or quitted his preſence without having previouſly received ſome favour. His adminiſtration of juſtice was conducted with the greateſt impartiality, and ſoftened by a liberality without example; for he often indemnified from his own purſe the loſſes they had juſtly ſuſtained by his ſentence. In victory he was ſomething more than a man; he pardoned all thoſe that had fought againſt him, and reſtored the forfeited eſtates of his moſt rancourous enemies. His laws are an undeniable teſtimony of the equity of his government, and the humanity of his diſpoſition. They all breathe nothing but tenderneſs to the unfortunate, encourage virtue, and inſpire with a ſpirit of liberty. Such children, whom their parents were unable to maintain, were, by theſe inſtitutes, allowed corn out of the granaries, and money out of his exchequer. Debtors, who were oppreſſed by their creditors, by theſe laws received redreſs; oppreſſive meaſures uſed by goalers, to extort money from their priſoners were puniſhed; deciſions in law were rendered expeditious; tortures, and other ſeverities practiſed by judges were aboliſhed; and all methods made uſe of to enrich the great, at the expence of the indigent were ſuppreſſed. So that the Roman inſcriptions were but faint deſcriptions

ſcriptions of his merit, in naming him the deliverer of the city, the founder of peace, the reſtorer of the republic, the author of publick liberty, and the recoverer of the city of Reom, and the world. There ſeems to be but one fault objected to this emperor by the Britons, which was indeed fatal to them in its conſequences. The removal of the imperial ſeat from Rome to Conſtantinople, giving the northern nations an opportunity to make frequent irruptions into the Roman territories, he not only withdrew the Roman troops from this iſland, but likewiſe the flower of the Britiſh youth; and by that means both weakened the internal ſtrength of this country, gave an opportunity to the Scots and Picts to make their depredations without reſiſtance, and by ſetting a precedent to ſucceeding emperors, was a means of exhauſting the kingdom of its natives in ſuch a manner, as to become a reſiſtleſs prey to the nations who preſumed to attack it.

Maxentius having aſſumed the purple, and being in actual poſſeſſion of Rome, he tranſported his forces to the continent, and marched againſt him at the head of a fine army, conſiſting of eighty thouſand foot and ninety thouſand horſe. Maxentius, though attended by an army far more numerous, was eaſily defeated and ſlain.

The uſe which Conſtantine made of this victory, was to reſtore the ſenate to their liberty, of which Maxentius had tyrannically

deprived them; he recalled thoſe that had been exiled, and made the beſt regulations to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquility of Rome on a laſting foundation.

By the light that may be collected from the ſcattered rays of his hiſtory, our anceſtors ſeem to have acquieſced, if not chearfully, at leaſt prudently in their preſent ſituation. No diſturbance, no inſurrections aroſe throughout the whole reign of Conſtantine the great.

This tranquility might perhaps be owing to regulations he made in the government of this iſland: in which its political ſtate ſeems to have been altered with a view to preſerve its tranquility. He divided the iſland into four governments, namely, Britannia prima, comprehending the country between the Thames and the ſea; Britannia ſecunda, containing that part which lay weſt of the Severn to the Iriſh ſea; Flavia Ceſaræncis, conſiſting of Cornwal, Somerſetſhire, and part of the counties of Wiltſhire and Glouceſterſhire; and Maxima Ceſaræenſis, which included the northern counties of England, with Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, and Lincolnſhire. The adoption of the two Ceſars by the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, gave riſe to the four Præfecti Prætori who were from that time the ſubſtitutes of the imperial power. The government of Britain, in conſequence of this innovation, was in the department of the præfect of Gaul, who ruled

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it by a vicar, and, during the preſent reign, Pacatianus, was the perſon who filled that poſt.

Conſtantius * dying, after a long reign, his empire was divided among his ſons; and Britain, France, Spain, and part of Germany fell to the ſhare of the eldeſt, who was of the ſame name with his father. Not long after his acceſſion to the empire, he was † killed in a battle at Aquileia, in an attempt on the dominions of his brother Conſtans. The victor ſucceeded to the inheritance of his brother, and came over to this iſland, in the middle of winter ‡, bringing his other brother Conſtantius with him. The cauſe of his journey is variouſly related by hiſtorians, ſome imagining, among which is Libanus, that it could be only by way of viſit, becauſe there was no war to render his preſence neceſſary: others again aſſert poſitively, that it was with an intention to repel the Scots and Picts, who were, at this time, turbulent and ready to improve all advantages.

Conſtans was unworthy of being thought the ſon of Conſtantine, he poſſeſſed none of the great qualities that rendered his father amiable. His only employment was in hunting, and other pleaſures of a rural and luxurious life, while the cares of government were entruſted to perſons who abuſed his confidence,

* On Whitſunday, May 22, A. D. 337. † A. D. 340. ‡ A. D. 343.

and laid insupportable burthens on his subjects. If his vices had rendered him an object of contempt, the exactions of his officers rendered him no less an object of hatred. They endeavoured to turn the injury they had done his character to their own advantage; they conspired against him, and set up one Magnentius, a Gaul of British extraction, and proclaimed him * emperor. Constans, who received intelligence of their designs, fled for safety, but was overtaken in his flight and slain.

Constantine, now the only surviving heir to the empire, after a struggle of three years, wherein he routed the army of Magnentius in two battles, forced the usurper in a fit of rage, not only to put an end to his own life † but likewise to that of his nearest relations.

Constantine the great made use of a victory, as an opportunity to display his humanity, and diffuse blessings; but the son of Constantine made use of victory, as an opportunity to exercise cruelty without fear, and to propagate misery without controul.

Though Britain had readily submittted to his authority, he sent over one Paulinus, a notary by profession, and a common informer by practice, to discover the adherents of Magnentius, and on conviction to confiscate their estates. This was a task suitable to his nature, and executed with so many instances of outrage,

* A. D. 350. † A. D. 354.

rage, cruelty, and inhumanity, that Martin, the deputy of the province, could not help expoſtulating with him in behalf of the unhappy ſufferers. But finding, that inſtead of regarding his remonſtrances, he was determined to involve him in the ſame guilt, and being by Magnentius ordered to be put into fetters, under the plauſible pretence of ſome crime; he reſented the diſgrace ſo highly, that he drew his ſword and thruſt at the tyrant, but miſſing his blow, turned the point on himſelf, and plunged it into his own boſom *.

Yet neither this cruel treatment, nor any civil broils could produce the leaſt diſturbance or commotion in Britain. It was not only the ſupport of the Romans in a time of dearth, but likewiſe the dock which ſupplied them with all their ſhipping.† The Romans not only built here a fleet of about ſix or eight hundred ſail, but likewiſe exported corn enough to ſupply their armies and gariſons in Germany. Some few incurſions were indeed made by the Scots and Picts, who could not ſubſiſt without plunder; but as they retired, as ſoon as they acquired a ſmall booty, theſe invaſions were of too little conſequence to diſturb the tranquility of the province.

Julian,

* This infamous wretch was, at laſt, puniſhed according to his crimes, being burnt alive in the reign of Julian the apoſtate.

† A. D. 359.

Julian, the apoſtate, had at this time the province of Gaul, with the title of Ceſar; and hearing of theſe inroads, diſpatched Lupicinus, his vicar, with a body of forces to repel the invaders; a ſervice which he performed with all the ſucceſs that could be expected from an experienced commander.

No other occurrence relative to this iſland offers itſelf during this emperour's reign, excepting that Palladius, one of Julian's great officer's was ſent hither into exile.

In the abſence of Valentinian, a new ſcene opened, which more than repaid the inactivity of ſeveral years, that preceded. The Roman province was now threatened by an inundation of Picts, Scots, Saxons and Attacoti, who broke into it in ſeveral places at the ſame time. They not only infeſted the Roman province in a dreadful manner, but likewiſe drew Nictaridius, count of the Sea Coaſt, and Fullofaudes, general of the imperial forces, into an ambuſh, which proved fatal not only to their forces but themſelves likewiſe.

Valentinian, alarmed at the news of this diſaſter, diſpatched Severus, the ſteward of his houſehold, to ſtem the torrent, which threatened deſtruction to the Roman intereſt in theſe parts; but this officer's endeavours proving ineffectual, he was recalled, and ſucceeded by Jovinus. This general, being unable to cope with the enemy now diſperſed throughout the kingdom, and extending their devaſtations as far

far as London, demanded a reinforcement without delay, as the only resource to save the province from ruin. Valentinian saw from his representations the immediate necessity for the reinforcement he demanded, and, at the same time, thinking it necessary that it should be under the command of a veteran and experienced officer, sent Theodosius with the Heruli, Batavi, Jovii and Victores, the best troops of the Romish army.

Theodosius, father to the first Emperour of that Name, lost no time in executing his commission, but immediately set sail from Boulogne, and landed at Sandwich. He marched directly to London, and found the city in great distress. * He immediately relieved the metropolis; and by dividing his army into different parties, surprized the enemy in several places, and divested them of their plunder, which consisted of captives and herds of cattle. A small part of this booty he distributed amongst his soldiers, by way of encouragement, and restored the remainder to the right owners.

As they whom he had defeated were only the allies of those nations, which he dreaded, he resolved to make preparations against the Caledonians themselves. For sometime he chose rather to observe his enemies, than molest them. As his enemies were numerous and formidable, he joined caution and prudence to his courage and intrepidity; he sowed dissentions between the Attacoti and the Silures, and thereby paved the

* A. D. 364.

way

way to their defeat. As he was unwilling to march into the north before he had provided for the ſafety of that part in which he then reſided, he removed every grievance that might poſſibly procure uneaſineſs in his abſence, and, before he ſat out on his expedition, provided for an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, by giving that department to a civilian of great note, and, at the ſame time, guarded againſt any commotion, by giving the command of the army he left behind him to Dulcitius, an officer of great experience and abilities. Theſe precautions being firſt taken, he marched againſt the enemy, and, by degrees, drove back the Picts, Scots, and other invaders into their own territories; he replaced garriſons to defend the boundaries, repaired the walls and forts that had been demoliſhed, or damaged, and took all the meaſures that might conduce to pave the way to a peace, or to render it both honourable and laſting.

This torrent of ſucceſs had like to have been ſtopped by an affair, which threatened not only the life of Valentinian, but the ruin of the Roman intereſt in Britain. At this time, it was cuſtomary with the emperours to baniſh perſons convicted of great crimes to this iſland, as to the remoteſt corner of the empire, and where they were leaſt capable of doing miſchief; among others Valentinus, a native of Pannonia, and a perſon of a proud and ſeditious ſpirit, had been ſent in exile into this iſland,

island, for some very heinous offence. As he was ever restless, discontented with his confinement, and bent on mischief, he formed a design against the general; and, for that purpose, had drawn in a great many of the other exiles, as well as the soldiers, to join with him in his undertaking. The plot was ripe for execution, when it was discovered to Theodosius, and finished by the execution of Valentinus and his chief accomplices. On this occasion, Theodosius gave the world an illustrious instance of uncommon policy and humanity; of uncommon policy in stopping all further enquiry after the rest of the conspirators, which might have rendered them desperate, and endangered the Roman interest; and of uncommon humanity in pardoning wretches that had been engaged in a conspiracy against his life; though they had all the motives in the world to wish for its continuance

Having thus preserved the public tranquillity, he was at liberty to take all those measures which might secure the barrier, and correct the abuses that had crept into the Roman army: he repaired the walls, reinforced the garrisons, rebuilt the forts, repeopled the cities, and restored that austerity of discipline, which had always rendered the Romans invincible.

The Roman territories in this island were already divided into four provinces, each having its peculiar governor; Theodosius added

ded a fifth, by recovering the country between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus, which was named, in honour of the reigning emperor, Valentia, and committed to the charge of a diſtinct governour. The Romans had hitherto made uſe of a kind of huſſars, or light horſe, in order to give them notice of the motions of the Caledonians, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Areani; but as they had violated their charge, and had acted rather as ſpies to the Barbarians, than a body of obſervation in behalf of their own country, he broke them, and inſtituted a regular company of light horſe in their ſtead.

The particular methods by which he quieted the diſturbance, allayed the rancour, or gained the eſteem of the Britons, are not, indeed, delivered with that minuteneſs, by hiſtorians, which might be expected. We are informed, however, that he leſſened their taxes; and what more particularly endeared him to them, as a commercial nation, was his fitting out a navy, which he employed ſo ſucceſsfully againſt the Scots and Saxons, that, having beat them in ſeveral engagements, he confined the one to their bogs, and entirely routed the naval power of the others. Need we wonder, after this, that, at his return to Rome, he was attended to the ſhore by numbers of Romans and Britons, teſtifying, in the warmeſt expreſſions, their regret and ſorrow for his departure; or, that his imperial maſter ſhould receive

receive him with the most public demonstrations of friendship, gratitude and affection? Valentian * dying, was succeeded in the Western empire by his son Gratian, a young man addicted to pleasures, resigned to favourites, and in every respect unfit for his dignity; as unhappy was he in the choice of those whom he honoured with his confidence; he intrusted affairs of the greatest importance to a few renegado Alani, and admitted them to a share in his government, to the disgust of all his own soldiers, who wanted only an opportunity to declare their resentment. As only chance of birth had made him an emperor, nature having given him abilities only for a huntsman, he soon found himself under a necessity of summoning a coadjutor to his assistance. He chose Flavius Magnus Theodosius, the son of the Roman general, who not many years before, had made so considerable a figure in Britain.

At this time, Maximus, a Spaniard by birth, of a very noble family, and an officer of great merit and distinction, had the command of the Roman army in Britain. He was particularly beloved by the Soldiers, and had rendered himself agreeable to the Britons. All his military actions had been planned upon the model of the great general Theodosius, by whom he had been placed in a high post of command, and probably succeeded, soon after, as a captain general of the

* Nov. 17, A. D. 375.

Roman and British forces. Maximus was of an ambitious temper, and was much disgusted at the sudden rise of the younger Theodosius. He complained loudly of the injustice done him by the election of that worthy commander; he aggravated the affront that Gratius had passed on the Roman soldiers, by the partiality he showed to the Alani; stung with resentment, the Romans readily come into his measures, and thought that in revenging his injury they revenged their own likewise. The Provincial Britons, who now reaped the harvest of a profound tranquility, would not have been easily drawn in to abet his usurpation, had he not been possessed of some advantages, which gave him a great ascendancy over their minds. He had lived several years in their country; had laid them under many obligations by his good offices; had secured their esteem by his bravery, and was related to them by marriage, nay, he was related to Constantine the great, whose name they reverenced; to sum up all, he had a son named Victor, by his wife * Helena a princess

* He had married Helena the daughter of Eudda a considerable chieftain of North Wales, and born at Caersegont, now called Caernarvon, where a Chapel is to be seen still remaining. This British Lady was, probably, a near relation of Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, and daughter of Cadvaon, prince of North Wales. This affinity, which Maximus contracted by his marriage with the family of Constantine, seems to be the only foundation for the alliance he pretended with it, as well as for his assuming the name of Flavius, and styling himself, Flavius Clemens Maximus.

princeſs of Britiſh blood, whom they might wiſh to ſee on the throne of the empire. Theſe motives, ſo ſoothing to vanity, were too powerful for the Britons to reſiſt. As ſoon as the Roman Soldiers proclaimed Maximus emperour, they declared themſelves his friends.

Not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to maintain the title he had aſſumed with the forces he collected in this iſland, he tranſported his army, conſiſting of Romans, and the flower of the Britiſh youth, to Gaul, where he was joined by the legions quartered in that neighbourhood and in Germany. Gratian marched againſt him with a ſtrong army, but, being betrayed by his troops, fled towards Lyons, and was killed by * Andragathius.

Maximus became poſſeſſed, by Gratian's death, of his part of the empire, but not content with his good fortune attacked † Valentinian II. and drove him out of Italy.

Too long a run of ſucceſs is apt to intoxicate, and is generally pernicious. The greateſt diſplay of wiſdom conſiſts not ſo much in the proper enjoyment of happineſs, as in reſolving to ſet bounds to happineſs itſelf: a degree of wiſdom, to which Maximus was a ſtranger, and on that account worked his own ruin. His repeated victories pointed out the way to future ones, and having thus vanquiſhed Gratian and Valentinian, he was uneaſy till he had conquered Theodoſius. His confidence of ſucceſs made him inſolent, and from inſults he proceeded to menaces. Theodoſius, not intimidated by

his threats, marched againſt him with an army of Veterans, which had been uſed to conquer under his command, routed the uſurper's forces in two battles, took him priſoner at Aquileia,* put him to death, and annulled all the acts he had paſſed during his uſurpation. Andragathius, who commanded a fleet in the mediterranean, hearing of his maſter's fate, threw himſelf overboard: Victor, who had been declared Ceſar, was taken in Gaul, and put to death by Arbogaſtes; and the Britiſh forces, ſtationed there for the ſecurity of his perſon and government, not able to return home for want of ſhipping, retired to the ſea coaſt and † ſettled in America, which from them was called Bretagne.

‡ Britain, in the mean time, drained by theſe continental wars of the forces, and robbed of the natives, which ſhould defend it, deprived of the fleet which uſed to guard its ſeas, and expoſed to the invaſion of foreign nations, was now attacked by the Iriſh, who landed near Arcluy'd, or Dunbritton, among the Strathcluyd Britons. Notwithſtanding the multiplicity of affairs, and the diſtraction which reigned over the empire, Theodoſius had a regard for the affairs of Briton, and ſent over Chryſanthus, who put an effectual ſtop to the depredations of the Scots and Iriſh.

The-

* A. D. 389.

† This tradition, tho' mentioned by Greek or Latin authors, is preſerved by *Lhwarch Hen*, prince of Cumberland, who lived within 150 years of this tranſaction.

‡ A. D. 388.

Theodosius dying full of glory,* left two sons, named Arcadius and Honorius. The western empire fell to the lot of Honorius, who was but ten years of age at the death of his father, and was committed to the care of Stilico, a man of great abilities, during his minority.

The affairs of the Roman empire were in great distress, surrounded on all sides by enemies, ready to attack it on the first favourable opportunity; its internal quiet in a very critical situation, and having an infant on the throne who was liable to become the prey of ambition, it required no unskilful hand to hold the helm, and its situation was such as would cut out work sufficient for the ablest statesman that ever had assumed the purple. At this period *Neil-Nao-gaillac*, the chief of the Irish monarchs, landed in the west of England, and ravaged the country as far as the sea coast opposite to Gaul; the Picts and Saxons were carrying on their depredations in other parts, when Stilicho, on application made for assistance, sent over Victorius with a legion, who effectually suppressed and repulsed † these perpetual invaders of the British territories, and forced them, in a little time, to quit the country.

The nation having enjoyed a profound tranquillity some years, during the residence of Victorinus in these parts, were ‡ once more exposed to the depredations of their enemies by the recal of Victorinus and his legion, in

* A. D. Jan. 17. 395. † A. D. 399. ‡ A. D. 403.

order to make head againſt § Alaric the Goth, who now threatened the very capital of the Roman empire. ‖

The loſs of ſuch a commander was a fatal blow to the affais of the Britons, who not only ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance, but, by his withdrawing, were expoſed to the ſame dangers from which he had delivered them. During his ſtay, however, he not only ſecured them from any attacks by land, but by putting their maritime power into a proper poſture for defence, ſecured the coaſts from the inſults of thoſe piratical nations who now began to infeſt the ſeas.

The weakening of the Roman forces tempted the Picts to make an inroad into Britain, and, having nothing to withſtand them, poured in with ſuch a torrent, as diſpirited the Britons, who once more ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Romans; notwithſtanding the pathetic repreſentation they made of their diſtreſs, they received no other favour from Honorius but a letter, wherein he told them, it was impoſſible for him to ſend them any troops, and exhorted them to take up arms in their own defence.

A

§ He was rather the general, than the king of the Goths, and one of the moſt formidable enemies that ever attacked the Roman empire. He ſacked Rome itſelf A. D. 409.

‖ Here may properly be dated the end of the Roman government in Britain. Some aſſiſtance, ſome legions were ſent now and then, upon the ſupplication of the Britons in the ſouthern part of the iſland, to relieve them from immediate deſtruction; but ſuch ſuccours were few, uncertain, and, at laſt, abſolutely withdrawn.

A reply of this kind drove them to despair, the Romans had plausibly refused to concern themselves with their affairs, and in return they resolved to disclaim any connection with them. They erected themselves into an independant state, and proceeded to the choice of an emperour. * Accordingly they chose, and murdered two in less than six months. After this they set up one Constantine, a man of low rank, merely for the sake of his name, which was at that time very popular. This island was a scene too narrow for Constantine's ambition, he affected nothing less than the possession of the whole western empire: For this purpose, in imitation of his predecessor Maximus, he collected the utmost force of the island, passed over into Gaul, and on his landing at Boulogne, was joined by all the Roman armies on this side the Alps. Stilicho ordered Sarus to march against him with a considerable army to oppose his progress; at first, Sarus had all the success he could wish for, having routed Constantine's army, pursued him to Valence in Dauphine, and invested that city; but he was obliged to raise the siege at the approach of Edobechus a Frank, and Gefontius a Britain, two experienced generals; they

* Lord Cork elegantly observes, that, "successive royal idols were set up, worshipped, and then taken down, and trampled to pieces. The names of these modern calves are insignificant, their actions, as sovereigns, immaterial and uncertain: they were elected, adored, and destroyed.

they obliged him † to retire with so much precipitation, that he was forced to purchase a passage, through the Alps to Italy, of the Bagradæ.

Constantine having thus established his power in Gaul, created his eldest son Constans, Cesar; and sent him to reduce Spain, which being void of forces, easily submitted. Didius and Verinianus, relations of Honorius, made some stand against him in Lusitania, and gathering a body of peasants and slaves, cut off some of his men; but the enemy being reinforced with fresh supplies, they were defeated and taken prisoners. Constans returned to his father, after leaving a party of men to guard the passes of the Pyrenees.

By this time Constantine had drawn Alavichus, the chief general of Honorius, into a plot for betraying his Master; in confidence of success, he had advanced with an army as far as Verona in Italy; but the conspiracy being discovered, and Alavichus killed, he returned back with such precipitation, and loss of reputation to Gaul, as paved the way to his ruin. When he set out on this expedition he had sent his Son Constans back again into Spain with Justus, an officer in whom he placed great confidence, to take upon him the command of the army; but this so disobliged Gerontius, who had been hitherto invested with that command; that he set up Maximus, his own relation, for emperour.

A. D. 408.

pour. Leaving him at Tarragona with the ſoldiers he had engaged in his party, he put himſelf at the head of a Body of Barbarians, that hovered about the Pyrenees, and marched againſt Conſtantine, whoſe Son Conſtans he ſlew in his way, at Vienne. Conſtantine ſhut himſelf up in Arles, in hopes of being relieved by the Franks and Alemanni, with whom he was negociating for ſuccours. Gerontius inveſted the place, but Conſtantius, the father of Valentinian,* coming up with Honorius's army, moſt of his troops deſerted him. Thus forced to fly with a ſmall number of Spaniſh Soldiers, who, deſpiſing him in his diſtreſs, reſolved to take away his life, and, attacking the houſe where he lay, reduced him to the neceſſity of putting an end to it himſelf. Conſtantine was ſoon involved in circumſtances of equal danger; for the army of Germans, brought by Edovicus to his relief, being routed by Conſtantius, he endeavoured to ſave his life by receiving holy orders and profeſſing prieſthood; but this artifice failed him, for he was killed on the road by Honorius, † and his head was brought to the emperor.

During this period, the Britons were brought to the laſt extremity by the Scots and Picts; which ſo alarmed the remainder of the Romans, that they gave over the country for loſt, and, after burying their treaſures, tranſported themſelves to the continent.

In

* He was afterwards an emperor.

† A. D. 411.

* In the reign of Valentinian III. who succeeded Honorius, the Scots and Picts began to make ſettlements in this country: In their diſtreſs they applied once more to the Romans for ſuccour, who ſent them over a legion. This favour was repeated ſome † years afterwards. The laſt legion was commanded by Gallio, who having repaired, or rather rebuilt the wall originally erected by Severus, and fortified the coaſts againſt the ſudden invaſions of pirates, plainly told them, that the affairs of the empire would not permit the Romans, to come to their aſſiſtance any more. They exhorted them to contract themſelves within the confines of England, convinced them of the neceſſity of repairing their walls, adviſed them to practice the art of war, and to become expert and regular in military diſcipline; but above all, to act upon one general plan and uſe their whole collective ſtrength againſt the Caledonians, and all other invaders. Having furniſhed them with patterns of arms, and with inſtructions how to forge them, he took his ‡ leave of Britain, to which the Romans never returned.

* A. D. 423.

† A. D. 446, but by ſome is fixed in A. D. 430.

‡ The time which the Romans were in poſſeſſion of this iſland, is computed by Selden, to have been 480, but by the Saxon chronicle only 470 years. Camden reckons it 476 years- but according to Speed, it could not be leſs than 499.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

An Ancient Briton.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

BOOK II.

The History of the BRITONS *from the first coming of the* SAXONS, *to the founding of the* HEPTARCHY.

THE Scots and Picts were united in a powerful confederacy, and were determined to make settlements. They began hostilities by demolishing the wall, and landing their forces behind the Britons, surprized them with such numbers, that they laid aside all thoughts of defence. These inroads having destroyed the chief cities and interrupted agriculture, a famine ensued, which, though greivous in one respect to the Britons, was serviceable to them in another, as it destroyed their enemies. They began now to see the necessity of recurring to their ancient form of government. The person whom they pitched on was Vortigern, a chieftain of the Silures in Radnorshire.

He is represented by all historians as a bad prince, he had alienated the minds of his subjects; and besides this he was apprehensive of some attack in favour of Ambrosius who had fled to Armorica after his father's assassination by

by Vortigern. These motives induced him to send for the Saxons, but making use of the inroads of the Scots and Picts as a pretext, he had the consent of a general assembly for his sanction. Others say, that the Saxons came over with an intention to plunder. They were commanded by two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, were joyfully received by Vortigern, incorporated into the British army, and had the isle of Thanet assigned them for their settlement. Hengist and Horsa soon distinguished themselves as allies of consequence, by driving the Picts and Scots back to their several territories.

One of the articles of compact between the Britons and Saxons, was, "that the Saxons should fight against the foreign enemies of the Britons, and were to receive pay from the nation whom they fought. But Hengist and Horsa had greater views than merely subsistence, and affected a settlement: Horsa, the most politic of the two brothers, observing the fertility of the soil, the experience of the inhabitants, and the weakness of the king, resolved to avail himself of each of these particulars in prosecuting his plan. In consequence of which he sent for fresh supplies, which were to fill seventeen transports, and brought with him Rowena, the daughter of Hengist: Vortigern married this princess, for her beauty, and allotted the kingdom of Kent to the Saxons. Such was the introduction of the Saxons into this island, whence the Britons could not expel them. Their number daily increasing; they were at last numerous enough to form seven distant kingdoms known by the name of the Heptarchy.

THE
History of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

The SAXON HEPTARCHY.

The Kingdom of KENT.

BY the *Heptarchy* is meant the government of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, considered as making but one body and one state. Throughout the period which this administration endured, we might expect to find many remarkable events; but scarce any part of the English history is more sapless and unfruitful. Each monarch strove to extend his territories, which prevented an union in the general system of the government. The scenes which heretofore represented civil wars between the native Britons, were now changed into ci-

vil wars between those Britons and the engrafted Saxons. From the materials of history that still remain, we may conclude, as hinted above, that one of the seven monarchs was superior to the rest, and a kind of president at the regal council. All matters of cognizance were laid before him; but each of the other kings had an equal right of choice and approbation in every single transaction that was proposed for his assent or dissent. The principal members of the council had no less a right of giving their votes, in points where the general wellfare of the nation was concerned. From this form of government it is easy to suppose, that the different prerogatives, not only of the several kings, but of the individual members who composed the assembly, might often clash, and give continual occasions for those feuds and contests which are the principal records that occur to us in the accounts of the heptarchy.

This heptarchy is indeed a field wherein so little grain is to be reaped, and where the small produce is mixed and choaked with so many monastic tares and brambles, that the account of the monarchs, who severally reigned in the seven kingdoms, seem rather the heads of an historical dictionary, than the parts of a continued narrative; and may perhaps tend rather to weary than gratify our curiosity.

The Saxons were as yet Pagans, but it is probable did not put any hardships on the Britons,

tons, who were subject to them, on that account. Whether the Britons made any attempts to convert them, is very uncertain; but it is very certain that the Saxons, excepting in the province of Kent, had been so continually engaged in the hurry and tumults of war, as to have had no leisure to examine into the truths of Christianity: besides, they were less disposed to receive them from the Britons, who were both their slaves and enemies; nor could they indeed have attempted their conversion, had they been disposed to hear them, because they were strangers to their language. These difficulties, insuperable to the Britons, were removed by a French alliance, by the prudence and piety of a princess of that nation, and by the assistance of preachers brought from a people of the same common origin with the Saxons.

Ethelbert, now king of Kent, had espoused Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and cousin german both to Clotaire, king of Soissons, and Childebert, the late king of Austrasia. She was a Christian; and, by the articles of her marriage, enjoyed the free exercise of her religion: in consequence of which she was attended by Lindhard, a prelate, venerable both for his learning, and the exemplariness of his life. He officiated in the church of St. Martin, which had been built, in the time of the Romans, near the walls of Canterbury, and, by his frequent discourses with the nobi-

lity, had brought over ſeveral perſons in the king's palace to the open profeſſion of Chriſtianity. One of the chief means of his ſucceſs, is generally thought to have been, the excellent underſtanding of the queen; whoſe exemplary life, and uncommon learning, had made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of the king, as to give him a favourable idea of her religion. As ſhe was not only pious, but zealous likewiſe, it is ſuppoſed ſhe had made ſome attempts towards propagating her religious tenets over the whole kingdom; and had ſent, more than once, to France, for perſons fit to undertake ſo important a truſt.

Gregory the Great, who now filled the papal chair, hearing of the general diſpoſition of the Engliſh to receive the Chriſtian religion, ſent Auguſtine, with other monks, from Rome, to haſten their converſion. But when they had got to Provence, they were ſo much terrified with the difficulties and dangers they were to encounter in this enterprize, that they ſent their ſuperior back, to get leave to relinquiſh their deſign, and to return to Rome. Gregory was applied to in vain; he perſiſted in his deſign, and ſent them orders to proceed on their miſſion: and, in order to allay their apprehenſions, wrote to the three courts of France, to take them under their protection, and furniſh them with all things that might promote the ſucceſs of their undertaking. At the ſame time he ſent

letters

BRITISH
MUSEUM

The Procession of St. Augustine

Engravd for Rider's History of England &c.

letters to several French prelates, and particularly to Brunehaute, queen of Austrasia and Burgundy, who interested herself so remarkably on this occasion, that Gregory says; "Next to God, England was indebted to "her for its conversion." She supplied Augustine with several French clergymen, who could speak English, with whom he sailed to the Isle of Thanet; and on landing, found himself at the head of no less than forty missioners.

At his first coming to shore, he sent one of his interpreters to Ethelbert, declaring he was come to make him the offers of eternal salvation, and to preach to him the knowledge of the true Deity, to which the Saxons were at that time mere strangers. After a few days the king came in person to the Isle of Thanet, in answer to their message, but chose to keep in the open air, from a persuasion, that while he kept himself without door, no spells could have any effect upon him. ‡ When summoned to appear, they advanced with a slow pace bearing a silver crucifix, having the painted image of our Saviour, and singing their litanies; which is supposed to have confirmed

* Dr. Smollet represents St. Augustine, as chusing to remain in the open air for this reason: but *Carte*, *Milton*, &c. say, that Ethelbert did it from the same persuasion.

‡ A. D. 596.

Ethelbert in his opinion, that they dealt in enchantments. After the king had heard them preach, he excuſed himſelf from profeſſing himſelf a proſelyte to their doctrine, till he had weighed its proofs more maturely, but for the preſent allowed them to reſide in Canterbury, ſupplying them with all neceſſaries, giving them the liberty of preaching their doctrines, wherever they pleaſed, and aſſuring them, that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, without the leaſt moleſtation.

The church of St. Martin was the place they frequented in the daily exerciſe of their religious functions; and their conduct breathed ſo much innocence, piety and auſterity, that it co-operated with their doctrine in increaſing the number of their proſelytes. It was not long before Ethelbert † himſelf, unable to withſtand the double influence of their lives and arguments, declared himſelf their convert, and the whole nation ‡ followed his example.

Chriſt-Church in Canterbury, which had been built by the Britons, was made a cathedral; the churches, which had fallen into decay were repaired; the heathen temples were conſecrated, and ſet apart for divine worſhip,

† A. D. 597, & 598. ‡ Ten thouſand were baptiſed in the A. D. 599. according to *Tall. Tab.*

ſhip, and a ſeminary for learning was opened in Canterbury.

The king, who had been fully inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity, thought it now high time to turn his attention towards the temporal concerns of his kingdom. By the advice of the wiſeſt men in his dominions, he ordered a body of laws to be digeſted in their (the Engliſh) language, that no perſon might plead ignorance in defence of his tranſgreſſion.

After this tranſaction we hear nothing of this prince, excepting his marrying another French princeſs, after the death of Bertha, who was in no reſpect her equal. After reigning ſeveral years in peace, he was ſucceeded by † Eadbald his ſon; who was a perſon of abandoned morals, and relapſed into paganiſm. But being afterwards reformed, by the admonitions of Laurentius, who ſucceeded ‡ Auguſtine in the ſee of Canterbury, he not only lived an exemplary life himſelf, but was inſtrumental to the converſion of Edwin, king of Northumberland, whom he married to his own ſiſter, after having ſtipulated that ſhe and all her retinue, ſhould have free liberty of exerciſing her religion.

At the ſame time Paulinus, a learned biſhop, was by his interceſſion prevailed on to amend

† A. D. 1616. ‡ A. D. 1639.

attend this princeſs to the court of her huſband, who by his zeal and abilities in conjunction with the remonſtrances of the queen, profeſſed himſelf a convert to Chriſtianity.

The method this prince purſued in order to convince himſelf of the truth of this holy religion, were ſuch as ſhew at once his own candour, and the truth of the religion he embraced. He proceeded with calmneſs, with care, and with deliberation. Not contented with his own reflections, which were the reſult of privacy and retirement, nor with the reaſons which paſſed between him and his miniſters on this ſubject, he convened all his nobility, counſellors and friends, to examine the proofs of both religions, where Paulinus was heard in defence of Chriſtianity, as the chief pontiff was in defence of paganiſm; the reſult of this conference turned out ſo much in favour of the Chriſtian ſyſtem, that an unanimous reſolution was taken in its behalf, and the pontiff himſelf was ſo well convinced of the reaſonableneſs of its evidence, that he was more forward than any other in deſtroying the altars and temples of the idols he had worſhipped.

Eadbald, notwithſtanding the pomp of his offerings, muſt be confeſſed to be weak, and by no means equal to his father. His life however was irreproachable after his converſion, and bleſſed with an uninterrupted tran-

quility

quility for two and twenty years. Before his death, he settled the succession of his throne, by the consent of his subjects, on Ercombert, his youngest son, on condition that the heirs of Ermenford, his eldest brother, should succeed him. Ercombert readily agreed to the conditions, but when settled in the throne, as readily forgot them. Excepting this breach of his contract, he might be called a zealous Christian; the heathen temples were by his order demolished, and the idols belonging to them hewn in pieces. He lived only four years after his accession to the throne, and at his death left two sons, named * Egbert and Lotharius.

Egbert, instead of acting as the guardian of his nephews, who were the true heirs of the throne, resolved to establish himself in it at the Expence of their lives; for this purpose he employed one Thunner, who, though one of his nobles, was so much his creature, as to undertake any wickedness to engage his favour. This execrable wretch not only murdered the orphan innocents, but afterwards threw their bodies into a river, where they were found floating by the country people, and interred in the abbey of Ramsay. Egbert, alarmed at this discovery, affected the utmost anxiety and remorse, and dreading the interest of

* A. D. 664, by some A. D. 663.

of Dornexa, their ſiſter, who, by their deaths, ſucceeded to their rights, prevailed on her to relinquiſh her claim, in conſideration of ſome lands he gave her in the iſle of Thanet, where ſhe founded a monaſtry.

After this atonement for his guilt, his adminiſtration was mild and peaceable during nine years, at the expiration of which he died, leaving two ſons, named Edric and Widred. Providence ſeems to have ſignalized itſelf in retaliating the injuries he had been guilty of to his brother's children. For after his death his brother, Lotharius, ſeized on the ſovereignty.

The uſurper, having maintained himſelf in the throne ten years without any moleſtation, thought that the beſt method of ſecuring the ſucceſſion to his poſterity, would be to aſſume his ſon as a partner in the throne. Edric, his nephew, finding his pretenſions in a manner ſet aſide by this artifice, withdrew from court, and reſolved to proſecute his right. To this end, he had recourſe to Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, who aſſembled an army in his favour. With theſe ſuccours Edric marched into Kent, gave battle to his uncle, defeated him; and Lotharius, having received ſome dangerous wounds in the battle, died ſoon after.

This victory ſecured Edric in poſſeſſion of the crown, which he enjoyed no more than two years, in the midſt of tumult and confuſion, occaſioned by the efforts of the laſt king's party,

party, and the disputes that arose about the succession.

* During these commotions, Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, invaded Kent, and plundered the country without opposition, till the Kentish men, provoked by their losses, took up arms, and defeated their enemies. Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla, being obliged to retire for safety into a house, with twelve of his followers, defended himself for some time against the enemy with incredible bravery; but the Kentish men, unable to dislodge him, set fire to the building, and he, together with his gallant companions, perished in the flames. His brother, who loved him with more than a fraternal affection, was so exasperated at this catastrophe, that he entered Kent at the head of a powerful army, and, fired with revenge, wasted, destroyed, and burned every thing that fell into his hands.

These incursions were encouraged by the intestine commotions of the kingdom; the nobles, who refused to acknowledge Withred, the brother of Edric, fortified themselves, and took up arms. Among these, one Swabert is supposed to have been the chief: As Withred was a person of no small sagacity, he bought off Swabert, by admitting him as a partner in the throne, and by these means forced the rest of

* A. D. 678.

of his enemies to acknowledge him as their king.

These princes reigned together with great harmony and tranquillity for four years, at the end of which period Swabert died; and left * Withred in the sole possession of the throne. The remainder of Withred's reign, which continued several years after the death of his colleague †, was passed with so much justice, candour and humanity, that he gained the esteem of all his subjects, and no small reputation by his administration.

At his death he left three sons, named Ethelbert, Edbert and Aldric.

The two elder brothers, if we may credit the Saxon chronicle and other antient authors, reigned together for three and twenty years, in great harmony and tranquility. States in their flourishing condition create enmities and jealousies, in their decline they may encourage revenge; but when they are reduced to such a condition as not to benefit a conqueror, they are looked on as insignificant and unworthy notice: such was the condition of the kingdom of Kent at this time, and its tranquility arose from

* A. D. 691.

† Malmesbury says he reigned but thirty-three years in all; but as his death is generally fixed A. D. 725, he must have reigned no less than forty years.

from no other cause but that no one thought it worth his while to disturb it.

Edbert * dying, his brother Ethelbert reigned alone for some years, and, by treading in the steps of his brother, endeared himself to his subjects. He admitted his son ** Ardulph to a share of the government, but surviving him, left his kingdom, ** at his death, to his brother Aldric.

This prince was frequently attacked by his neighbours, amongst whom, Offa, king of Mercia, was the most formidable, the most powerful, and the most implacable. He meditated nothing less than uniting the kingdom of Kent to that of Mercia, and the present state of Kent flattered his hopes, and increased his ambition. Aldric, however, assembled his forces, and made the best stand he could; but his struggle was faint, he suffered a defeat, and had not Offa been diverted from prosecuting his victory by a diversion made by the Welch, and by the jealousy of the neighbouring kings, it is probable that Kent must have lost its independency.

Aldric's son, Acmund, dying before his father, in whom the race of Hengist was extinct, the succession was disputed by those who

* A. D. 748. ** A. D. 760.

** In his reign, according to Malmesbury, Canterbury was burnt.

had engroſſed the greateſt ſhare of wealth and power. At laſt it was conferred on *Edbert*, ſurnamed *Pren* or *Prin*; who being unable to reſiſt the forces of Cenulph, king of Mercia, was, after a ſhort reign, taken priſoner by that monarch, who carried him into Mercia, and * there ordered him to be deprived of his eye-ſight.

The vacant throne was, by Cenulph, filled with a tributary prince, named Cudred, who abſolutely depended on his will, and, having reigned eight years, died†.

By the permiſſion of Cenulph, Baldrid, his ſon, was alloweded to ſucceed him; but he being defeated by Egbert **, fled to the other ſide of the Thames, and lived in obſcurity. His dominions now lying at the mercy of the conqueror, were united to thoſe of the Weſt Saxons, after having continued a diſtinct and ſeparate kingdom three hundred and ſeventy-two years.

The Kingdom of SUSSEX, or the SOUTH SAXONS.

THE kingdom of Suſſex was one of the leaſt conſiderable in the whole heptarchy. It contained only the two provinces of Suſſex and

* A. D. 805. † A. D. 794.

** This tranſaction is generally placed in A. D. 805, but by lord Cork in his hiſtory is placed in A. D. 823.

and Surry, the greateſt part of which was covered with a vaſt foreſt, called by the Saxons Andreds-wald, from its antient name, Andeſida. It was bounded on the North by the river Thames, on the South by the ſea, on the Eaſt by Kent, and on the Weſt by Weſſex, ſo that the utmoſt extent of this petty kingdom was only fifty miles in length, and about forty in breadth. The capital was Chicheſter, built by Ciſſa, ſon of the firſt king, Ella, whom we have mentioned in the preceding pages of this hiſtory. It muſt be confeſſed that the * illuſtrious founder of this monarchy was a perſon of great military merit, as he was choſen by the Saxons to ſucceed Hengiſt in the command of their armies, and tho' not always ſucceſsful againſt Arthur, was ſo formidable an enemy, that he maintained his ground againſt him, and founded his kingdom in the province where he firſt landed.

He died, after a reign of three and twenty years, and left his kingdom in peace to his only ſurviving ſon, Ciſſa, who was remarkable for nothing but the length of his reign †, and the building of Chicheſter and Ciſsbury. Inſtead

* A. D. 476.

† To this Rapin adds the length of his life, for ſuppoſing him to have been one year old when his father brought him over, he muſt have been 115 or 116 years old when he died.

of supporting his father's glory, according to the expectations raised by him in his youth, he was contented to pay a yearly proportion of money and troops to Cerdic, king of Wessex, who had raised himself to the chief command of the Saxons. As he * died without issue, his kingdom was invaded, and his crown usurped, by Ceaulin, king of Wessex, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. This usurpation was the cause of a league formed against him, in which he was vanquished and dispossessed by his nephew, Ceolric, who retained Sussex, as a part of his conquest. The South Saxons indeed made several attempts to recover their independence; they revolted against Ceolwulph, king of Wessex, who reduced them to obedience: their next effort was crown'd with better success; for during the exile of Cenewalch, king of Wessex, now under the dominion of Penda, king of Mercia, they took the opportunity of placing Adelwach on the throne.

§ Adelwalch kept possession of the crown after the restoration of Penda, who was too weak to attempt dethroning him. Yet Adelwalch did not enjoy his tranquility long, for Wolfur, king of Mercia, having defeated Cenewalch several times, afterwards penetrated into Sussex, took Adelwalch prisoner in an engage-

* A. D. 590. § A. D. 641.

engagement, and made himself master of the isle of Wight. Adelwach, embracing Christianity in his captivity, was set at liberty by Wolfur, who gave him back the isle of Wight, together with Hampshire, and his own dominions. After Wolfur's death, he resumed the throne, and reigned peaceably till Ceadwalla, prince of the West Saxons, invaded his dominions, defeated, and slew him in the * field of battle.

Authun and Berthun, two of Adelwalch's generals, returning at this time from an expedition into Kent, opposed his aim so vigorously, that he could not establish himself on the throne; and the king of Wessex dying at this juncture, he returned to that kingdom, where he assumed the crown: in the mean time Authun and Berthun were crowned joint monarchs of Sussex; yet their reign was but short, for Ceadwalla was no sooner established in Wessex, than he proclaimed war against them, and gained a battle, in § which Berthun lost his life. Authun was allowed to keep the throne, in dependance on the conqueror, who, when that prince died, would not permit any one to succeed in his place. This subjection proving very disagreeable to the South Saxons, they once more took up arms

* A. D. 686. § A. D. 722.

to recover their independency, but their means were so ill-concerted, that they only riveted the chain the stronger, being totally reduced by Ina, king of Wessex. After a respite of three years*, they took the field once more, seizing the opportunity of some troubles in Wessex, to set one Albert on the throne: but their struggles for liberty were ineffectual; Albert was vanquished and slain by Ina, under whom the two kingdoms were united †. Not to be disheartened by disappointments, or intimidated by dangers, they revolted for the last time, while Sigebert filled the throne of Wessex, and made Osmond their king; but were probably subdued by Cenulph, the successor of Sigebert, and their country, from that time, was looked on as an appendage of the kingdom of Wessex.

The Kingdom of WESSEX.

IN the heptarchy were three kingdoms more eminent for their power and grandeur than the rest. Two of these were subject to the Angles, and the third to the Saxons. The two kingdoms of the Angles were Northumberland and Mercia; the kingdom of the Saxons was Wessex. This great kingdom was inhabited by the Saxons and the Jutes: it was situated to the South of the Thames, and was extended in breadth, from that river to the channel,

* A. D. 725. † A. D. 780.

nel, about seventy Miles; its length, from the border of Sussex to the river Thames, which divides Cornwall from Wales, was one hundred and fifty. The principal cities of this monarchy were Winchester, the capital, Southampton, Portsmouth, Salisbury, Dorchester, Sherborn, and Exeter; in which a great number of Britons had mixed with the Saxons. The isle of Wight has already been mentioned as originally an appendage to this kingdom. The name of Wessex was given to this country on account of its situation, which was West with respect to the other Saxons settled in Sussex, Kent, and Essex.

The situation of this country did not contribute a little to render it formidable. It had the command of several very good harbours, was bounded on the North by the river Thames, on the South by the sea, on the East by the little kingdom of Sussex, and on the West by the Britons of Cornwall, who were separated so from their countrymen the Welch, that it was impossible they should assist each other.

Having already given a circumstantial account of Cerdic *, the founder of this monarchy; of the pacific reign of Kenric †, his son; of the incidents which occurred in the reign of his successor Ceaulin **; of Ceolric **, his

* A. D. 519. † A. D. 534.
** A. D. 560. ** A. D. 591. By some in 592.

his nephew, and of Ceolwulf *, or Ceobulf, the ſon of Cutha; it remains that we now carry the pedigree lower, and ſpeak of Kynegils **, or Cinigiſel, who aſſociated his brother Quichelm in the government, a year after his coronation. The united government of theſe two kings, was ſignalized by a remarkable victory over the Britons at Beandune, ſuppoſed by Camden to have been Bindon in Dorſetſhire, wherein the enemy loſt no leſs than two thouſand men in the field.

After this, the two princes were involved in a war with Penda, king of Mercia, in which a battle was fought near Cirenceſter *. The two parties engaged with ſuch obſtinacy, that they continued the engagement till the night came on and obliged them to part, yet with reſolutions to renew it the next morning: but the day-light preſented ſuch a ſcene of ſlaughter, that they were mutually affected with the loſs they had ſuſtained, and apprehending nothing but the deſtruction of both armies in another battle, they agreed to a conference, and immediately concluded a peace.

To paſs by the other actions of theſe princes, which will be mentioned in another part of this hiſtory; we cannot help taking notice, that Kynegils was converted to Chriſtianity by an Italian Monk named Berinus. His brother Quichelm

* A. D. 597. By others, A. D. 598.
** A. D. 611. * A. D. 614.

chelm or Cuichelm, did not immediately follow his example, but ſome time after, being ſeized with a dangerous diſeaſe, embraced the ſame faith, and died immediately after his baptiſm [1], Kynegils did not long ſurvive him; but finiſhed his glorious courſe about ſeven years after [2].

He was ſucceeded by Kenovaloch, his own ſon, a weak prince, who inherited nothing of the father but his crown. He married a ſiſter of Penda, whom he ſoon afterwards divorced, without aſſigning any reaſon; and then renounced the Chriſtian religion. Penda, incenſed at this outrage offered his ſiſter, invaded his dominions before he was prepared for a defence, obliged him to fly for refuge [3] to Annas, king of the Eaſt Angles, and kept poſſeſſion of Weſſex, during the three years of his exile. In this interval, being reformed by the pious expoſtulations of Annas, he once more profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian; and was, by means of the ſame monarch, reſtored to his kingdom. Scarce was he ſettled in his throne when a civil war broke out, which was determined by a battle [4] at Bradenford [5], ſuppoſed by Camden [6] to be now Bradford in Wilts.

The Britons likewiſe, encouraged by theſe inteſtine commotions, and the damage he had ſuffered

[1] A. D. 635. [2] A. D. 643.
[3] A. D. 645. [4] A. D. 652.
[5] Malmſbury calls it Witzcorneſburg.
[6] Dr. Smollet places it at Bradford near the river Avon in Northamptonſhire.

suffered from the arms and usurpation of Penda, assembled an army and invaded his dominions. Kenwal took the field *, and, as he was advancing to oppose them, was attacked so furiously, at a hill named Pine, in Shropshire, that the Saxons were obliged to give ground: but afterwards, recollecting their courage, they returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory **.

It was not the fortune of Kenwal to enjoy tranquility; for no sooner had he quieted the commotions of the Britons, than he was attacked by Wulfur, king of the Mercians. A battle was fought between those princes, but what was the event of it is very uncertain *, though it seems to have turned out in Wulfur's favour, as he ravaged Kenwal's country afterwards, as far as Ashton, and the very same year reduced the isle of Wight. After his recovery of his kingdoms from Penda, he had given all his territories lying North of the Thames, to Cuthred, his brother's son, to hold as a principality under him; and that he might have a see in the dominions in his own immediate subjection, he founded St. Peter's church at Winchester, which became soon after, the seat of the West-Saxon bishoprick.

The

* Called likewise Kenowalsh. ** A. D. 658.

* Malmsbury says, that he deprived Wulfur of a great part of his kingdom; but Huntingdon affirms, that Kenwal was defeated.

The laſt part of his life permitted him to enjoy ſome reſpite from the fatigues and diſorders of war; and when he was obliged to pay the debt of nature *, he left his crown to his wife Saxeburga.

This lady was a perſon of great courage and underſtanding, poſſeſſed of every princely qualification, and formed, both by education and inſtruction, for the art of government. She exerciſed the regal power in a manner ſuitable to her capacity; and, after having reigned one year, died †. About two years after her death, Elſewin, ſon of Kenſus, and great grand-ſon to Kuthgils, and uncle to Kenwalch, aſſumed the crown, or rather ſhared the government with Kentwin, who was brother to the late king Kenwal. They had not ſat long together in the throne, when they were engaged in a war with Wulfur, king of Mercia. Eſcuin had the command of the army, and engaged the enemy at Benheaſde **, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Mercians had the advantage; two years after which, Elſewin died **, leaving Kentwin in ſole poſſeſſion of the throne.

Kentwin purſued his brother's meaſures for reducing the Britons, drove them to the Weſtern ſhore, and obliged Cadwallader their king, to go in perſon to Armorica to demand ſuccours.

Ceadwalla

* A. D. 672. † M. Weſtminſter ſays, ſhe was expelled the kingdom by the nobles, who deſpiſed female government. ** A. D. 674. ** A. D. 676.

Ceadwalla, his kinſman and ſucceſſor, was forced to quit his kingdom at the latter end of Kentwin's reign; the cauſe of which is variouſly related: ſome ſay that he was left the crown by Kentwin, but oppoſed by a faction, which compelled him to take refuge in the foreſt of Andredſwald in Suſſex; others aſſert that he was obliged to quit the kingdom, and retired to the ſame place, from a ſuſpicion that Kentwin had entertained on account of his great popularity. However, it is generally allowed that he was joined in his retirement with ſuch numbers of the military part of the nation, that he was in a condition either to recover his kingdom, or to make conqueſts in other parts. The forces he had with him giving Adelwalch a ſuſpicion, that he deſigned nothing leſs than the recovery of ſome territories, which had been conquered from him by Wulfur, but were now in his poſſeſſion, aſſembled a body of troops to expel him from his territories; but, as we have already obſerved, loſt his own life in the attempt. Two of Adelwalch's children falling into the hands of the conqueror, he ordered them to be put to death, in order to extinguiſh the royal family of the South-Saxons. Ceadwalla lay dangerouſly ill of the wounds he had received in the late battle, at the very time that he gave theſe cruel orders: Retford the abbot, who attended him;

him, preſſed him to revoke his ſentence, but neither his perſuaſions, nor the deplorable conditions of diſtreſſed infancy could make any impreſſion on his heart; he would grant only a ſhort reſpite, nor would he delay their execution any longer than was neceſſary to baptize them. After this action, the country of the Saxons was terribly ravaged; flushed with victory, he attempted to make himſelf maſter of Suſſex, but was prevented by Berthun and Authun, who forced him to retire out of their territories. Kentwin dying in the interim, he was elected king without oppoſition, and returned to Suſſex with greater force, with which he defeated Berthun, as we have before deſcribed, and afterwards over-run the whole country in a more horrible manner.

He next invaded Kent, and laid it waſte in the ſame manner as he had done Suſſex, and then attacked the Iſle of Wight. This place was commanded by Arwalt, the brother of Authun, who finding it impoſſible to keep the place againſt ſuch numbers, was forced to retire, and leave the inhabitants to the diſcretion of a conqueror, who knew not how to ſhew mercy. Being apprehenſive that the people of this place would take the firſt opportunity to free themſelves from his yoke, he entered into the moſt execrable ſcheme that ever was invented, to extirpate them. He

cloaked his barbarity under the pretext of zeal, and pretended that he put them to death becauſe they were idolators; he would have executed all the inhabitants in this cruel maſſacre, had not Wilfred, biſhop of Selſey, begged him to ſpare them, that he might convert them: this interpoſition of the biſhop ſtopped his hand, but not before he had ſlain all the inhabitants, excepting two hundred families. This wretch, who affected ſo much zeal for Chriſtianity, was not yet baptized; it was much for the honour of our holy religion he was not. Yet as he had been ſo munificent to the church as to give it the tenth of all his ſpoils, it is no wonder that the clergy of thoſe days thought this ſacrifice a ſufficient atonement, and choſe to receive him for a convert, whom they had already found ſo liberal a benefactor. He ſet out for Rome, reſolved to be baptized by the pope himſelf; and on his arrival, was chriſtened by Sergius II. who gave him the name of Peter. He * died not many weeks after his baptiſm, according to a wiſh he had frequently expreſſed, and was buried in St. Peter's church, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

At his departure from England, he reſigned his crown to his couſin Ina, though he had two

* A. D. 689.

two ſons by his wife, Cenditha: as they were in their minority, he knew too well from former reigns, that they were liable to fall a prey to the luſts of ambition, and though they might have the good luck to eſcape with life, yet it was uncertain whether a regent might not rob them of their kingdoms, or make their infancy a pretext for carrying on ſuch meaſures as might be pernicious to the ſtate, and contagious to their morals.

Ina was one of the moſt illuſtrious kings mentioned in the Saxon heptarchy; formed both for the field and the council, he was as great a general as a ſcholar; and if his ſucceſſes in war be deemed a proof of the one, his adminiſtration in peace is no leſs a teſtimony of the other. His moderation, prudence, and religion, were not leſs conſpicuous than his courage, and had not his devotion been inflamed too high by monkiſh counſellors, and an enthuſiaſtic wife, it may be queſtioned if he had any faults.

In leſs than a year after he mounted the throne, he was declared monarch of the Anglo-Saxons: a plain indication that his abilities were conſpicuous, and his character well eſtabliſhed. The firſt act of royal authority he exerted after his elevation, was to compoſe a body of laws, called *Weſt Saxon Leaga*, or Weſt Saxon laws, which ſerved for the foundation of thoſe enacted in the next

century by Alfred the Great his ſucceſſor. He convoked a general aſſembly of the clergy, in which ſeveral things were determined relative to the church, of which we may ſpeak more largely in another place. If his piety was remarkable, his friendſhip was not leſs conſpicuous; he never could forgive an injury done either to a friend, a relation, or a benefactor; * it was owing to this that he marched into Kent, as ſoon as he ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, in order to take more ample revenge for the death of Mollo; Withred, who was then the reigning monarch, and fond of the ſweets of peace, bought off his reſentment, by making him a preſent of a ** large ſum of money as a fine for the death of his couſin.

His next expedition was againſt Cornwall, part of which he reduced; his quarrel with Ceolred king of Mercia, was determined by a ſingle battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy at Woodenberg in Wilts, with equal loſs

* A. D. 694.

** The Saxon chronicle computes it at thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, but Florence only at three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty. A ſum too great for the kingdom of Kent in thoſe days to have diſcharged. From the laws of Athelſtan it appears, that the fine uſually paid for killing a king was thirty thouſand *thrymſa*, which, at three ſhillings each, amount to four thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling; and is a confirmation that Florence's computation is neareſt to the truth.

loſs of men on both ſides, but turned out to the advantage of Ina.

It was a cuſtom among the Weſt-Saxons, to grant large territories by way of appanage to the younger branches of the royal family. Whether Ina having no ſons of his own, ſhewed too great a regard to Ethelred, the brother of his royal conſort, who, though of Cerdic's line, ſeems to have been a remoter prince of the blood than others; or had, in compliance with the cuſtoms juſt hinted, made any declaration in his favour, the princes, who were under apprehenſions of being by theſe means defeated of their rights, broke out into inſurrections. The ſons of the reigning kings, and preſumptive heirs of the crown, were uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of Clito, or Ætheling; and in one of theſe inſurrections, which happened three years after Ingild's death, we find *Kineulf Clito* ſlain by Ina, to whom he was perhaps a nephew by ſome other brother. The death of this prince was far from putting an end to theſe commotions, for the very next year another was raiſed by Ealdbright *, who began his inſurrection in Somerſetſhire; but being routed near Taunton, fled to Suſſex. The South-Saxons took up arms in his favour, and Ina purſuing him thither, ſeveral battles enſued, in one of which Ealdbright was ſlain in the field.

* A. D. 722, & 725.

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loss of men on both sides, but turned out to the advantage of Ina.

It was a custom among the West-Saxons, to grant large territories by way of appanage to the younger branches of the royal family. Whether Ina having no sons of his own, shewed too great a regard to Ethelred, the brother of his royal consort, who, though of Cerdic's line, seems to have been a remoter prince of the blood than others; or had, in compliance with the customs just hinted, made any declaration in his favour, the princes, who were under apprehensions of being by these means defeated of their rights, broke out into insurrections. The sons of the reigning kings, and presumptive heirs of the crown, were usually distinguished by the title of Clito, or Ætheling; and in one of these insurrections, which happened three years after Ingild's death, we find *Kineulf Clito* slain by Ina, to whom he was perhaps a nephew by some other brother. The death of this prince was far from putting an end to these commotions, for the very next year another was raised by Ealdbright *, who began his insurrection in Somersetshire; but being routed near Taunton, fled to Sussex. The South-Saxons took up arms in his favour, and Ina pursuing him thither, several battles ensued, in one of which Ealdbright was slain in the field.

* A. D. 722, & 725.

These successes must certainly have magnified him in the eyes of the people, but that which dignified his character in the eyes of the clergy, was his munificence to the church, and the sacrifice he made of his regal state, in order to dedicate himself entirely to the exercises of devotion. Before he put this enthusiastic project into execution, he made a journey to Rome, in order to confer with pope Gregory II. and during his residence in that city, erected the English college for the reception of ecclesiastics, and the entertainment of such kings as might be possessed with an ardent desire of visiting the tombs of the apostles. For the support of this seminary and the church adjacent he assigned a fund, called afterwards Peter's-pence; which though at first accepted as a gift, was afterwards claimed by the popes as a debt, and a legal part of their revenues. In order to establish this fund, he returned once more to his native country, resigned his government into the hands of Ethelbald, and with his queen retired to Rome, where he assumed the habit of a monk, as she did likewise of a nun.

Ethelbald on his mounting the throne found himself not without a competitor, who was second cousin to the late kings, Cedda, Ceowald, Cynebald, the younger brothers of Cynegils. This prince's name was Oswald, though joined by a great part of the king-

dom,

dom, but was, notwithſtanding, defeated in a pitched battle, and dying not long after, left Ethelbald without a rival till the time of his * death.

Cuthred, who ſucceeded him on the throne, ſeems to have ſucceeded him in his troubles likewiſe. His whole reign was nothing but a ſcene of warfare and bloodſhed. The firſt action which diſtinguiſhes his reign was the death of his ſon, who was ſlain in a mutiny. This misfortune was ſoon followed by an Invaſion of the Weſt Saxons, headed by Ædelhun, one of their chief nobility, who was celebrated for his military ſkill, his high ſpirit and intrepid courage. This brave and experienced commander met Cuthred in the field with a body of forces, far unequal to thoſe of Cuthred in number, but animated ſo much by the bravery and conduct of their commander, that the fortune of the day, which had remained long doubtful, was going to declare in his favour, when Ædelhun was unluckily run thro' the body, and his men ſo diſpirited, on account of the accident, that they left the field to Cuthred. † But the manner in which he had ſuſtained himſelf with a handful of men againſt ſuch numbers, operated ſo ſtrongly on the affections of Cuthred, that he not only pardoned Ædelhun, but likewiſe made him gene-

* A. D. 741. † A. D. 750.

general of his army. This act of generoſity proved no leſs a ſign of Cuthred's clemency, than his judgment; eſpecially as it united to his intereſts a man, who was a formidable enemy on account of his favour, and a valuable friend on account of his integrity and gratitude. Ethelbald, king of Mercia, lighted the coals of diſcord once more by harraſſing the territories of the Weſt Saxons, and depopulating the tributary of kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex and the Eaſt Angles, as far as Burford. The army of Cuthred was then commanded by Ædelhun, and, though inferior in number to Cuthred's, was a match for any enemy under ſuch a general. Ædelhun begun the engagement with ſuch an act of intrepidity, as was proper to inſpire the men with courage, and the enemy with confuſion. For advancing before the ranks, with the ſtandard in his hand, he challenged the ſtandard-bearer of the Mercians, who, it ſeems, declined the combat. A bloody battle then enſued, with prodigious ſlaughter on both ſides, yet neither thought of retiring, both parties ſeeming to have determined either to conquer or die. After the victory had remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, it was aſcertained by Ædelhun, who charged the enemy with his battle-axe in ſuch a manner, as to mark his way with dead bodies. Æthelbald had, during the engagement, performed the duty of a brave man and

a skilful commander, but, being met by Ædelhun, in the heat of the action, he was attacked with such fury, that he was not able to sustain the shock, and was the first man of his army that fled. His troops, who had, till now, stood their ground with great resolution, were so intimidated by the flight of their master, that they soon followed his example. As this victory was entirely owing to the courage of Ædelhun, it gained him an immortal honour, the same time as it involved Æthelbald with so deep a disgrace, that he rashly flung away his life, in a battle at * Spoggswold, attempting in vain to retrieve his reputation.

After this he led his victorious army against Cornwall, part of which he united to his own kingdom, and, dying at Benford, left his crown to Sigebert, his cousin.

Sigebert was young, head-strong, violent, incapable of receiving advice, or being corrected by experience: proud of the merit of his ancestors, but without possessing any of his own; haughty without dignity; oppressive without moderation, and cruel without provocation: he had, out of mere wantonness, murdered one of his own counts, and treating the people daily with inhumanity, and the nobles with insolence, in a manner, obliged them

* A. D. 755. § A. D. 754. 755.

them to drive him from the throne, and substitute Keneulf, a prince of the same family, in his place. The new monarch dispossessing him of all his dominions, excepting Hampshire, at that time governed by duke Cumbran; Sigebert found a safe retreat in his dominions, and, what was still more for his true interest, a person in the duke himself, who was faithful to him in his misfortunes, and so much his friend as to endeavour to reclaim him from those vices, which had been the causes of his ruin. This noble proof of friendship, instead of exciting the gratitude of Sigebert, provoked his anger, and was by him esteemed such a flagrant act of disrespect, that he ordered him to be put to death. The fate of a person, who suffered only on account of his loyalty, had such an effect on those, who yet followed his fortunes, that they unanimously deserted him, and suffered him to be driven out of Hampshire, after which he fled for shelter into the wilds of Andredswald, and was there killed by a Swineherd, who belonged to Cumbran, in revenge for his master's murder.

Keneulf, raised to the throne in the manner just described, employed his arms against the Cornish Britons, whom he defeated in several engagements. He had a genius naturally turned to war, and in the first part of his reign was very successful. In the latter part

fortune

fortune turned againſt him, and he loſt all his dominions north of the Thames by the victorious arms of Offa. Kynehard, the brother of Sigebert, endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs him of the reſt of his dominions, was forced to fly into exile: but kept hovering on the borders of the kingdom with a few adherents, in order to take the firſt opportunity of revenging himſelf on Keneulf. Being informed, that the prince often viſited a lady at Morton in Surry, Kynehard ſurprized him there, and having inveſted the houſe, with his men, got to the apartment where the king was, before his attendants could receive the alarm. Keneulf running haſtily to his arms, defended the door with the greateſt bravery; but perceiving Kynehard among the aſſaſſins, and no longer conſulting his own ſafety, he ſallied out in a great rage amidſt his enemies, attacked and wounded Kynehard; but at laſt fell overpowered by numbers. The king's attendants, alarmed with the noiſe, ran to the place where their royal maſter lay dead, fell upon Kynehard, who endeavoured by promiſes to bring them over to his party, but, perſiſting in their loyalty, were all ſlain by the conſpirators. The nobility at Kingſton, hearing of the king's fate, the next morning mounted on horſeback with their attendants, and coming to Morton, found that the regicides had barricadoed and garriſoned the houſe, with an intention to defend themſelves. Kynehard

endeavoured

endeavoured to divert them from their deſign by fair promiſes and conſiderable offers, giving them to underſtand at the ſame time, that there were ſeveral of their neareſt relations within, who were reſolved to ſacrifice their lives in his defence. Duke Oſric, who had probably the government of that country, and the thanes that were with him, replied, that they had no relation ſo dear to them as their lord, that they would never obey his murderers; and that ſuch of them as would deſert Kynehard, were at liberty to depart in ſafety. This declaration having no effect, Kynehard and his adherents were, after an obſtinate engagement, cut to pieces.

Having thus revenged the murder of their maſter, and performed his funeral obſequies at Wincheſter, they crowned Brightric, a deſcendant of Cerdic, though not by the eldeſt line. This prince, though of a meek and pacific diſpoſition, could not help entertaining ſuſpicions of * Egbert, a prince of the blood, who had been educated by the nobility, and was at that time remarkably popular.

* Ingild, brother of Keneulf, dying before him, had left a ſon, named Eopa; who was probably a minor, when Ina took the reſolution of reſigning his crown to Ethelbald, and had iſſue Eata, father to king Alchmond. This prince ruled over a territory in the eaſtern extremity of the Weſt Saxon dominions, and Brightric came to the crown, left this Egbert, who was the only heir of the royal family remaining, and had, by his deſcent from an elder line, a better right to the throne than Brightric.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.